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ABSTRACT

This book is a collection of six articles that deal with the concept and the practice of differentiated staffing in education. Included in the collection are articles on the concept itself; on problems, prospects, and the practical implementation of the concept; staff differentiation in a multiunit school; and polemical aspects of differentiated staffing. (JA)

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FOREWORD

THE CONCEPT of differentiated teaching assignments is not an entirely new one. There were slave-tutors in ancient Greece known as *paidagogai* who sometimes worked with their young charges out of school hours. Much later, in the first quarter of the 19th century, the Monitorial System developed by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell provided a kind of shared responsibility for teaching the young that was popular in a younger America. But the sophisticated version of differentiated staffing with which this important monograph is concerned did not develop to any extent until the 1960's.

As we move more deeply into the socially and educationally portentous years ahead the ideas expressed by our seven authors promise to be of increasing importance. Directly or by implication they concern themselves with many crucial questions: Are we ready for the step beyond team teaching that differentiated staffing represents? How do we cope with its promise and its problems? Can the differentiated approach avoid being vitiated by pressures and restrictions that threaten to price teacher aides and paraprofessionals out of the market? Are many of our colleges and universities versatile and resilient enough to prepare future teachers to exploit effectively the potential of differentiated assignments? Can seasoned teachers learn to work in a new staffing context that may doom the self-contained classroom to extinction? Are administrators being prepared to function in a changing milieu that involves new responsibilities and relationships? The list of similar queries seems virtually endless!

It is a pleasure to recommend the work of Mary-Margaret Scobey, A. John Fiorino, and their associates to the ASCD reader. Whether or not you agree with the views they express, *Differentiated Staffing* is informative, provocative, and timely reading for parents and professors as well as teachers and central office personnel in U.S. schools.

Indiana University
May 1973

HAROLD G. SHANE, *President 1973-74*
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1. TRENDS IN EDUCATION: CLIMATE FOR DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING

MARY-MARGARET SCOBEY

MOST PEOPLE in the world are inescapably caught in a net of incredible and sometimes frustrating change. Among the welter of current changes is modification of organizational patterns. In the United States, well established newspapers, giant corporations, and even hospitals and museums are reorganizing their basic operational structures. It is not extraordinary that America's greatest human enterprise, the public school system, is also changing to respond to the demands for increased efficiency.

We witness change in the basic concept of education itself, change in instruction, change in curriculum content, and also change in organization and administration. One organizational change with steadily increasing impact is differentiated staffing.

This booklet describes differentiated staffing (DS) as one method of school organization.

Change: A Stimulus to Action

Serious critics have said, "The educational system must change to survive." There are, indeed, evidences that the public school system could be in real trouble if it does not meet the demands for relevancy, humaneness, and efficiency. Yet change comes slowly in any institution. Slow moving as change in the educational sector may be, however, in the past decade we have seen change occurring in the style of school buildings, in the content and organization of basic disciplines, in instructional strategies, and in the personal and professional image of the teacher.

Educational change has, in fact, become so popular that a grave danger lies in the unevaluated growth of "fads." When people hear of an interesting innovation, they may "jump on the bandwagon" in support of it without careful study and inquiry. Often good ideas or worthy innovations fail in the transition from theory

to practice, or because they are inappropriate for the school population or for the teacher's instructional style. And failure is also sometimes due to administrative imposition without genuine teacher acceptance.

Organizations that give financial support to the local school district have been great change agents. In recent years, private foundations and governmental agencies have probably been the major influence for change and innovation.

Change in social institutions, including schools, has often, but not always, meant progress. Just as planned urban development, for better or for worse, is changing the physical and functional aspects of suburbs and inner city districts, blueprints for educational changes, for better or for worse, have changed the learning environment, basic textbooks and other learning materials, and the experiences through which children learn. Parents, professors, students, and community experts of varying competencies work with public school educators to assess the need for change and the means by which it can be effected. Increased cooperation and careful programming can provide endless opportunities for educators to improve educational experiences. The thrust is toward planned change.

Pressures for Change

Through the years schools have accepted increasing responsibility for curing many social ills. Education may have been oversold. In some cases, the school's attempts to solve social problems have boomeranged. Some people feel schools have failed. Community disenchantment is evidenced in defeat of school bonds, lawsuits, frequent changes in superintendents and college presidents. Some legislatures are enacting mandates for curriculum governance and accountability.

Because education in the United States is traditionally a service to the public, community governed, and supported by public taxes, people not in the education profession or on the periphery of it have often felt obliged to analyze education and offer suggestions for the improvement of the schools. Perhaps one of the earliest in the recent era of change was Admiral Rickover, who spoke strongly for academic excellence. Since then writers such as journalists Charles Silberman and Peter Schrag have visited many schools and found most of them wanting, by their standards. Psychiatrist William Glasser, private school educators John Holt

and A. S. Neill, and others have suggested changes in the emotional climate of the school.

The "romantic critics," such as Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Paul Goodman, and ex-priest Ivan Illich, accuse the public schools of molding children into conformists. Such criticisms have encouraged the emergence of the "free school" movement. Researcher Christopher Jencks and his Harvard team have more recently cast doubts upon the reforms of the 1960's and special programs for the children of the poor. Specialists in television have developed radical yet highly effective educational programs for children that have not only supplemented the work of the schools, but have also given clues for change to teachers. Thus the layman is clearly demonstrating his concern about the quality as well as the cost of schooling.

Pressures have also been felt from within the educational establishment. Student disorders have occurred at college, high school, and lower school levels. The newspaper recounts almost daily strikes, or the possibility of strikes, resulting from increasing demands of teacher groups. Educators themselves are unhappy about many aspects of our educational system.

In response to outside pressure, some careful, objective evaluation has occurred within the educational establishment. Although not as rapidly as critics would wish it, some change *is* taking place. Many schools are very different from those of ten years ago. Here and there across the nation, traditional organization and teaching procedures are being discarded. There are "pockets" of modification, innovation. A subtle, seething ferment is slowly reaching into every aspect of the school system.

The Changing Image of the School

Look at the outside of a new school building. The box-type, institutional, colorless structure of old is obsolete. Inside that new building, learning areas are not only free and open, but quite different from tradition in purpose and use. Within the older, conservative buildings, walls are being knocked out, paint is bright and colorful, halls contain lounge furniture and study carrels. Even libraries with carpets, mezzanines, and browsing corners provide an environment for research in pleasant, relaxed comfort. Today's new architecture facilitates freedom of movement, human interaction and cooperation, and space for a variety of activities by various sized groups. Open space facilitates in part the concept of

open education, which has been further inspired by the British Infant Schools, the Leicestershire method, and the English Free Schools.

The grouping of students for instructional purposes is moving away from arbitrary grade level designations. Some schools have adopted complete or partial nongraded structure. A number of systems have been designed for assigning pupils to appropriate learning groups. Flexibility is stressed. One child may work alone or with several different groups during one school day. In some schools children are no longer locked into a promotional system imposed because of their chronological age upon entrance to school.

The programming of weekly and daily schedules is also moving away from discrete blocks of time, ever shortened as more subjects are added to the curriculum. Modular scheduling is being tested. The old core idea is gaining acceptance as one way to increase instructional time and develop interrelatedness among disciplines. Some programs provide very little structured time because individuals and small groups pursue learning activities which are outlined in stated "contracts."

Curriculum and instruction, formerly oriented to middle class values and focusing upon college preparation, are also being modified. Several disciplines, such as mathematics, language, science, and social studies, have been reorganized to provide thoughtful analysis and meaningful understanding of the content. Both cognitive and affective domains are significant, as well as related psychomotor skills. Emphasis for content is increasingly upon the learner's individual and community needs and values, and the student's interests and abilities. Continuous progress is stressed, and learning is problem-centered and process-oriented rather than limited to rote memorization. Multisensory learning helps to balance experiences between concrete activities and verbal abstractions. Reliance on lecture, textbook, and workbooks or highly verbal learning as the one instructional procedure is disappearing. The new instructional technology facilitates both research and skill development.

Paper and pencil tests are less likely to be the major system of evaluating learning. The trend is toward learner self-evaluation and cooperative evaluation between the teacher and the child and, in some cases, parents. In addition, the current demand for realistic accountability has brought to education some ideas for systems management that have been utilized by industry and commerce. Teachers in some schools are organizing their instruction in terms of behavioral objectives.

The personal and professional image of the teacher has changed dramatically in only a few years. We now find more men working with groups of young children; many of our modern youth seek work in nursery schools. There is a larger representation of minority groups among teachers. Clothing and personal grooming in the latest mode are accepted.

The teacher, though still poorly paid, is being recognized as a person rather than an automated, stereotyped, public servant. The public is beginning to accept teachers as politicians, as negotiators, as people.

Perhaps the most hopeful trend in the modification of the educational system is that which influences the psychological environment. The move is toward the development of humaneness, personal insight, improved human relationships. To develop in learners such attitudes and behaviors, the school itself—its people and its structure—must demonstrate these qualities. Teachers are attempting to provide a school environment that will make learning more interesting and more satisfying. They seek to motivate children in a way that will help learners gain intrinsic satisfaction from the learning act. The expected result is inner gratification, consciously acknowledged. Though all experiences may not be completely joyful and relaxed, the teacher's emphasis is upon positive reinforcement.

Coping with change is not easy; deviations from the traditional bring real problems to teachers. Implementing one or more of the trends mentioned here places an almost impossible burden on teachers.

Greater depth of knowledge, increased instructional skill, more sophisticated communication and human relationships are required. Not only must teachers keep abreast of proliferated knowledge, they must also adjust to cooperation and teaming, to instructing within sight and sound of others, to mastering new instructional materials, to operating in various forms of space.

The change in role from being the only teacher to manager of a wide range of learning experiences supervised by older students and other adults is not easy to achieve. Some teachers do not have the time or the inclination to master new skills, yet it is evident that many teachers work conscientiously to improve their product. They seek to facilitate change. Educational leaders are recognizing, however, that responsibilities need to be allocated among several people, rather than expecting each teacher to be equally competent in all academic skill areas.

The Emergence of Differentiated Staffing

From the milieu of pressure, assessment, and change emerges the organizational concept of differentiated staffing (DS). It appears to be a logical consequence of changing trends in education, an attempt to cope with the criticism of traditional education. Like most innovations, DS may vary in character from program to program, and it may have different meanings for different people. Differentiated staffing may be defined, basically, as follows:

Differentiated staffing is a planned operational model for staff utilization. It takes advantage of the differences in teaching specialties, experiences, talents, and ambitions, compensating for them in differentiated levels of assigned instructional responsibility, time, and salary.

Most educators will find this an acceptable definition, yet those working on the forward edge of DS feel that the concept has developed beyond the limitations of teacher utilization and benefits. This definition, a teacher-centered concept, describes the nature of the first, beginning plans for DS, and can be labeled a "Generation I" concept. The emphasis is upon a hierarchy of well-defined, differentiated roles, permitting specialization and division of labor, and including the use of auxiliary personnel. The orientation is toward economies, the cost/effectiveness factor, though a fine distinction is made between "merit pay" and compensation relative to responsibility.

Differentiated staffing, in this sense, is not a new idea in our society. The medical profession has a well established system of workers who have unique responsibilities to the patient—doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, anesthetists, nurse's aides, hospital managers, and many others. The engineering profession also utilizes special training and experience, rewarded by special wages and status, from the designing engineer down through the draftsman, foreman, and the bricklayer. It is only since 1968, however, when the first funded program was planned and successfully instituted in Temple City, California, that DS has received appreciative recognition among educators.

Since its inception, DS has been a dynamic, evolving concept. Some models have been administered by leaders with an experimental attitude. In many programs, researchers have collected evaluation data carefully and used them to improve and refine the model. Experimenters now recognize that the hierarchal structure

of personnel, with differentiation in responsibilities, is not enough. Functional planning and implementation require more than defining roles, establishing the hierarchy, and deploying personnel differently.

Differentiated staffing as an organizational structure appears to be one in which the most effective educational innovations may be combined and improved. Because organizational renewal (see page 10) is basic to success, DS facilitates change. Some experts suggest that DS is an outgrowth of team teaching and, indeed, a refinement of it. Also inherent in many DS models are the basic principles of open education, individualization, cooperative planning and evaluation, shared responsibility for instruction, and decentralization of decision making. Planners consider the use of time and space; they utilize learning centers and flexible scheduling. In some cases, identification of behavioral objectives has dictated modifications of staff organization.

Because instructional innovations are becoming increasingly important factors in DS, focus upon them has created the term, "flexible instructional organization (FIO)," found often in the most recent literature and sometimes used synonymously with DS. From this instruction-centered interpretation of DS emerges what has been termed the Generation II concept, oriented to the basic improvement of the teaching-learning process.

Differentiated staffers have been interested to discover, also, that many more educators within a district are touched by the development of DS than those directly involved. (For example, instructional ideas and materials spill over to schools without DS.) The projection of a DS program somehow seems to add to the ferment of change. For this reason, DS can be considered as an educational process rather than a static plan or product.

With confidence in the evolutionary development of DS, some authorities visualize further refinement leading to the emergence of a Generation III concept. Its distinguishing feature probably would be a learner-centered focus. Students would participate more fully in the decision-making process; they would be part of contract formation, evaluation, and small group instruction. It is the belief of some that Generation III DS will be the vehicle for humanizing education.

Today there are many DS models, no two of which are alike, in various stages of operation. Plans that are similar may be implemented differently between districts or among schools within a district. Hence, we cannot generalize a disadvantage to one district

or school as also being a disadvantage to another district or school. Fallacies in models must be identified and analyzed, or "learned."

As programs exist today, some are characteristic of the Generation I concept, some are moving toward the Generation III concept. Some have been developed with new staffs and in new, open-space buildings; others are designed for the self-contained classroom. Some plans emphasize professional needs, others focus on learners' needs. In some, the major mode is individualization and personalization. The adult-pupil ratio may vary, depending on the purpose and use of personnel or the type of task defined. Consideration of community goals varies.

Like all highly specialized agencies in our society, DS has developed its own nomenclature which varies widely among projects. The literature mentions flexible staff organization, multi-unit schools, the span of control, cluster leaders, curriculum associates, and various other terms that are meaningful because they reflect the participants' own goals and perceptions of DS.

Current DS models nevertheless contain some commonalities of purpose and structure. The major purpose is better utilization of human and financial resources for the improvement of instruction and realization of learner needs. A broader range of manpower is spanned that assures a maximum use of time and professional and personal strengths. Teaching roles, responsibilities, and functions are systematically differentiated. There is a thrust toward cooperative, communal effort between and among people. Preliminary and ongoing in-service education to develop increasing effectiveness within the organization is part of the plan.

In the few years during which DS has been organized and evaluated, many advantages and disadvantages have been identified. Not all models have been successful; some critics have been severe. As with the instituting of most innovations, the process of planning and activating DS is not effortless. Teachers may be uneasy in the throes of change; they may fear change in status or instructional role. The future of the concept is under scrutiny.

The following chapters, written by experienced advocates of DS and by one outside observer, analyze these problems. Chapter 2 describes the rationale for DS, possible problems and issues, and arguments for and against the concept. Chapter 3 presents a procedure for planning a model. Chapter 4 discusses aspects of implementation. Chapter 5 is a case description and analysis by an educational anthropologist. And the final chapter poses some questions to analyze some perceptions of the future of DS.

2. DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

CLINTON E. BOUTWELL
DEAN R. BERRY
ROBERT E. LUNDGREN

DON DAVIES, former Deputy Commissioner of Education for the U.S. Office of Education, recently stated that, "Differentiated staffing continues to be a highly controversial, much debated, much misunderstood issue. It has been grossly oversold as a panacea for nearly all educational problems. It has been grossly undersold as a mechanistic reshuffling of old and new job titles in the schools, without reference to the content and spirit of education."[1] Many educators will agree strongly with Davies, and conclude that he has quite accurately focused on significant issues regarding DS.

Differentiated Staffing: Conceptions and Misconceptions

The writer of Chapter 1 pointed out that DS as an organizational structure differs from place to place and means many things to many people. It seems appropriate here to extend that discussion to a more detailed focus on the current conceptual meaning of DS. Differentiated staffing means a staff utilization plan which recognizes different talents and abilities within a teaching staff and utilizes them maximally. The means for differentiation vary widely in districts across the country where models are being developed. Underlying each, however, is the basic assumption that there are major differences among teachers, and that education can benefit by recognizing and tapping the expertise available. Essentially, then, DS implies that the roles of teachers will be divided into various specialized categories directed at meeting predefined instructional goals and objectives.

[1] Don Davies. In preface to: Fenwick W. English and Donald K. Sharpes. *Differentiated Staffing.* Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1972.

Organizing a school district to achieve this end necessitates fundamental changes in other components of the district. Administrative roles change; principals and other executives become facilitators, managers, and coordinators rather than curriculum experts or instructional leaders. The use of paraprofessionals and other noncertificated adults increases. A flexible use of space meets a wider variety of goals and instructional needs. Decision making shifts from dominance by superintendents and other educational executives to a shared decision-making process with each professional giving his expert opinion about proposals and alternatives.

All changes, of course, are posited on defining the needs of students, and are therefore open to further modification as student needs change. Central to the concept of DS, then, is the idea of renewal—self-renewal as well as curricular and instructional renewal. In this sense, *self-renewal* is defined as the process by which an administrator, teacher, or other professional analyzes his strengths and weaknesses and seeks paths for upgrading his skills and knowledge. Self-renewal is essential if the organization is to renew itself, that is, constantly change to meet new needs. Self-renewal and organizational renewal are central to the very important character of DS: the concept is constantly maturing, expanding, altering in process and conditions.

Since the first attempt in 1968 to implement differentiated staffing in Temple City Unified School District, interest in the idea has grown tremendously. Cooper has identified six major reasons for this active interest in DS.[2]

- First is the growing recognition that individual teachers simply cannot adequately perform all the necessary tasks now demanded of them. Differentiated staffing offers alternative ways in which to divide tasks and to assign professionals to roles. These roles, which have a defined performance base, are allocated to individuals who have the required skills and expertise.

- Second are the financial crises that have given impetus to criticism of the traditional single salary schedule which pays teachers equally, regardless of differences in the amount of responsibility assumed. Differentiated staffing proposes that teachers should be compensated on the basis of predetermined levels of performance and difficulty of task.

- Third is the increasing concern over the inadequacies of

[2] James M. Cooper. *Differentiated Staffing.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1972.

traditional classroom instruction and curriculum. Differentiated staffing encourages teachers to consider new means for reaching instructional objectives, and fosters team approaches to planning and implementing significant innovations.

- Fourth is the increasing demand of professional organizations for participation in the decision-making process in schools. The concept of shared decision making, found in most DS models, maximizes participation of teachers in decision making on all matters concerning the operation of the school—budget, curriculum, instruction, in-service education, and the like.

- Fifth are the new curricular and organizational reforms which call for new teacher competencies as well as for upgraded skills and practices among the professional staff. Differentiated staffing, with its emphasis on collegial decision making, its emphasis on self-renewal, and its built-in means for in-service training, helps teachers make smoother transitions to new programs and practices. And, by distributing different aspects of the instructional program to teachers with special interests and talents for specific tasks, DS manages to gain a better match between the tasks that need to be performed and the expert who is to perform them.

- Finally, the financial problem faced by all educational agencies today calls for new ways of allocating resources. Differentiated staffing, though definitely not a scheme for underpaying teachers, emphasizes that compensation for services should be tied to the level of difficulty and expertise of the performance. In this way, those teachers who assume responsibility for such tasks as teacher training or curriculum development, in addition to classroom instruction, receive more compensation than those teachers who are not interested in additional responsibilities. Differentiated salary schedules do not reward a professional simply for time spent on the job.

There are perhaps other reasons for the increased interest in DS, as might be suggested by the number of books and articles available on the subject. One would think that with all the information about DS available—everything from reports of the American Federation of Teachers to empirical studies and doctoral dissertations—confusion about what the concept is, and how it may affect education, would be largely dissipated. Unfortunately, much confusion still remains even among groups that should be informed.

Some assume that DS is simply a device designed specifically to reduce expenditures for educational programs and teachers'

salaries. At a recent meeting of the Education Commission of the States, for example, some panel members assigned to discuss DS described the concept as a money-saving plan, as a merit pay plan, or as a scheme by educational managers to divide and destroy teacher organizations. None of the descriptions had any relationship to most DS models. As a matter of fact, some of the panel members' descriptions seemed to arise from rumor rather than from an analysis of the literature about DS or from firsthand evidence.

Another misconception about DS is that the Temple City model is the *only* model. That notion is inaccurate, but if it were accurate, it would be dysfunctional to further development and assessment of the concept. Even in Temple City, the first model has been changed so significantly that it would be largely unrecognizable to many who visited the district several years ago. The concept of DS has an underlying rationale and set of assumptions that make it possible to develop several different models for implementation.

In Temple City, for example, we are convinced that DS is not a static model but a process of staff development. Our overt structure remains, but the dynamics within the structure are now seen as much more important for our goal. A further real danger in assuming that the Temple City model is the only model was identified by Allen and Kline:

> Some people not only talk about Temple City's model as *the* differentiated staffing model; they also extend (or further limit) their lexicon on the topic by delineating exact salary ranges and professional credentials for each of the four teaching levels described in that one staffing pattern—copying verbatim the Temple City plan in all its specifics as full realization of the concept of differentiated staffing. Admirable, consistent, and viable as the Temple City model appears in itself, it does not exhaust the possibilities and varieties available within the general concept. Few specific applications of any general concept have so quickly tended to become a new and limited orthodoxy as that single model has done.[3]

Such reification of a single model is foreign to the rationale for DS; there are, potentially, as many models for differentiating a teaching staff as professional imagination can conceive. Throughout this chapter we refer most often to the Temple City experience,

[3] Dwight W. Allen and Lloyd W. Kline. "From Habit to Heresy and Home Again: The Roots and Route of Differentiated Staffing." In: James M. Cooper. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

simply because we are most intimately knowledgeable about that model and feel that members of the profession may learn by our successes and failures in building their own unique dynamic model.

Underlying Bases of Differentiated Staffing

With that caveat in mind, then, let us proceed to describe what appear to be some of the underlying assumptions about DS and then discuss some of the real problems that might be encountered as a district attempts to develop and implement a DS plan of its own.

The core qualities of DS are: (a) a formal means for utilizing and rewarding the differential skills and expertise of a given teaching staff; and (b) a conscious attempt to institutionalize self-renewal and organizational renewal. On the basis of those superordinate assumptions, a number of subconcepts may be identified. There appear to be five underlying characteristics of DS (although various models may have more or less, depending on the objectives the model was designed to meet):

1. A formal system of shared decision making
2. Formal provisions for self-renewal
3. Performance-based organizational roles
4. Formal provisions for professional self-regulation
5. A flexible use of human and physical resources.

Other models have, of course, developed different paths to accomplish these same goals, but all have at least tacitly accepted or provided for them. In Mesa, Arizona, for example, which at first glance appears to have a model radically different from that found in Temple City (and probably does), we find self-regulation and self-renewal goals handled through the process of performance contracting, which also meets the goal of performance-based roles. In the Sarasota, Florida, model, a great deal of attention is paid to gaining feedback from teachers working in teams to meet any new needs that arise, a process which also accommodates the goals of self-renewal and organizational renewal. Regardless of the structure of any given model, there appear to be efforts to move toward the five goals listed. In need of clarification are the goals themselves.

A formal system of shared decision making. Several studies have shown that when teachers see themselves merely as anony-

mous figures in the system, alienated from the identification of problems and consideration of alternatives, they tend to become bureaucratic functionaries unwilling to offer creative alternatives to traditional programs, remaining comfortable in their noninvolved roles. Teachers may, on the other hand, react to noninvolvement by confusing the goals of the system, or, even worse, they may displace these with private goals. Such loss of talent and creativity can be neither tolerated nor afforded by American education.

Too often the failure of innovative ideas and plans can be laid directly to neglect of teacher participation in the initial and continuous process of evaluation and decision making. Too often, also, lack of real involvement by teachers seems to stem from a conscious effort on the part of administrators who either fear or denigrate the value of teachers' contributions to educational decision making. It has become almost axiomatic that a system which includes all those who are to take part in implementing an innovation or some other change has a greater chance of success than one that does not. The ultimate rationale for involving teachers in decision making, of course, is that it is almost impossible to provide for self-renewal if agents who are to effect change are not involved in the decisions they are to implement.

In DS, then, formal procedures are typically designed for maximizing the decisional inputs from various professionals. In Temple City, for example, a system of academic senates made up of teachers, administrators, and others regularly meet to discuss policy and determine courses of action. Their prerogatives in decision making extend all the way to seeking board approval for their decisions with or without the cooperation of the superintendent. In that way, teachers have come to see the importance of their involvement and have come to value it.

A final advantage of shared decision making is that it diminishes the "them and us" phenomenon which often results in divisive acts on the part of administrators and teachers that are destructive to the educational program itself in the long run. With shared decision making, administrators and teachers become problem solvers rather than advocates of parochial positions. As problem solvers, they are more likely to address themselves to significant educational problems.

Formal provisions for self-renewal. Differentiated staffing provides for the process of self-renewal through various performance measures developed by professional staff members who not only help

to identify various roles but also become guides for developing greater expertise. In most instances, DS offers means for in-service training that is situationally specific; that is, training programs are designed to help teachers and other professionals meet predetermined instructional goals.

Self-renewal, of course, is central to a process of organizational renewal. As the needs of students change over time, the organization must change to whatever extent necessary to meet the new needs. With professionals able to define their training needs, with opportunity for training and experimentation built in, and with other measures to encourage and allow for personal and team growth, self-renewal and organizational renewal go hand in hand. Many educators therefore are coming to view a differentiated staffing model as a process rather than a product. The process we refer to is that of self- and organizational renewal. Some plans accommodate that goal.

Again, other models have different approaches to self- and organizational renewal. In Temple City, for example, teacher leaders, working with their colleagues, might identify a new approach to teaching social studies or reading. They may determine a need for additional training or for consultation with an expert in that field before they can begin to utilize the new approach. The model allows time, space, and funds for such activities. In the process of gaining insight into new approaches, teachers learn to value the process of renewal, which is encouraged in the organizational pattern.

In Mesa, after performance objectives are written, teachers compete for contracts. When contracts call for new understandings on the part of the professional staff, incentives for learning new skills and practices are provided. As teachers implement new programs, the organization itself is capable of renewal and refinement. Essentially, self-renewal and organizational renewal come about through a defined feedback system by which both teachers and other professionals gain insight into the operation of the organization and the role of the individual in it. In this way, DS is a basic means of assuring feedback.

Performance-based organizational roles. The central means for determining the success of individual and organizational efforts is the use of behaviorally-defined tasks and activities. Job descriptions, for example, may specify expectancies in behavioral terms for the operation of each of several teacher roles—regular teacher,

staff teacher, senior teacher, and master teacher are names sometimes used for such roles. Periodically, persons in senior and master teacher roles are formally evaluated in writing by the regular and staff teachers they serve.

Evaluation is based upon accomplishment of mutually agreed-upon services or products specified in advance. Unsatisfactory evaluations result in loss of the leadership position, and a return to staff teacher status. Tenure in a leadership position is strictly avoided; retention of leadership status and compensation must be based on performance if the roles are to be viable.

Regular teachers and staff teachers are evaluated by senior teachers who possess expertise in that particular subject area. If problems are identified, a committee of colleagues works with the teacher to overcome the problems and to improve instructional techniques. In most such cases we have observed, considerable improvement occurs in a relatively brief period of time. In some instances, however, lack of growth ultimately results in initiation of proceedings for dismissal.

Master teachers serve senior teachers, and therefore are evaluated by senior teachers rather than by the superintendent. Again, unsatisfactory evaluation ultimately results in loss of the position and return to a teaching role.

Evaluation, in this context, is a means for improving the total educational program. It may also be used to determine needs for staff development and training programs. In other models, performance objectives may become the basic discriminator of success or failure. With performance-based roles, the difficulty of allocating responsibility and compensation is eased. Arguments, most of them just, about the inequality of merit pay schemes are obviated: only those who desire to compete for more responsible positions do so, and they also accept the potential success or failure which goes with such responsibility.

Formal provisions for self-regulation. Leading from the concept of behaviorally-defined tasks and roles is the notion of self-regulation by teacher colleagues. Self-regulation is common in professions such as medicine and law, but regulation of the teaching profession by teachers is a relatively rare phenomenon. Differentiated staffing models presume that teachers will be directly involved in the development of behavioral specifications for the various tasks and roles. It is further assumed that the evaluation of performance and the determination of what steps follow evalua-

tion are also functions of the teachers. They, as the clients of the teacher leaders, are in the best position to judge whether or not the services and insights provided are actually adequate. They are also in a better position to evaluate the performance of their colleagues.

Self-regulation also encourages meliorative rather than punitive processes. In some models, for example, there are formal procedures by which teachers and other professionals can be helped through training programs tailored to the individual needs of teachers, self-help programs, and so forth. There are also regularized means by which individual teachers with poor evaluations from their peers can gain assistance and a fair hearing. The district minimizes to a great extent the role of the generalist in evaluation, and places most of the responsibility on the shoulders of those in the best positions to enable them to determine competence in teachers.

Teachers with expertise in a particular subject are in the best position to evaluate their colleagues. They also are much more aware of the day-to-day problems another teacher may be having, simply because they are working together as members of a team, and have cooperatively developed the instructional objectives for that subject. An administrator with a background in English or social studies is not in as good a position to evaluate success in teaching science or physical education as is someone who is able to provide constructive criticism and techniques. In the latter situation, evaluation can become a positive way of improving performance.

A flexible use of human and physical resources. Differentiated staffing implies flexible use of human resources. The full dimension of the concept is realized only by seeing the dynamics of the system in operation. There is not only a differentiation of the teaching staff, but a full complement of other adults in addition. Paraprofessionals act as aides and clerks, and thus free the full professional for more difficult and sophisticated tasks. Teacher interns participate in actual teaching situations, and learn from experienced teachers a complete range of processes and skills.

Typically, the central office staff is diminished since many of the curricular and instructional functions normally performed at that level are taken on by teacher leaders. The principal becomes much more of a coordinator, manager, and facilitator, lending his executive skills to the operation of school programs. The aim is to

maximize the use of the various talents and skills among those most directly engaged in the instruction of children.

One of the most significant "discoveries" by professionals in some of the DS school districts is the increased rationality of decision making that can result from mutual involvement in the process. Curriculum development, instructional processes, and the use of materials and facilities are much more clearly matched with the goals of the district and the needs of students.

Decisions such as removal of walls to develop open-space areas are based not on the desire of some administrator to make a name for himself, or to change for the sake of change, but on the analysis of student needs, the search for alternative means for meeting those needs, and a collective choice or decision. Much greater success is likely to result from shared decision making. In many districts with DS, the buildings, schedules, and other support systems have been specifically changed and designed to better accommodate defined instructional goals. This flexibility stems primarily from the ability of DS personnel to make wider and more systematic decisions about change.

Coping with Problems

As one considers the preceding goals and their rationale, one cannot avoid seeing in them a great deal of idealism. No doubt few who have participated in the development of a DS plan would claim to have reached each of the listed goals or to have fully implemented each concept. As we have said, the development of DS is a process, and therefore it may never be completed in the usual sense of completion. As each step of the system is developed, new problems are discovered. The following paragraphs discuss some possible difficulties that might be encountered, and some suggestions for educators interested in developing their own model of differentiated staffing.

Leadership. The selection of teacher leaders is a crucial aspect of DS. One major problem in the selection process is the establishment of minimum criteria to be met before a teacher leader goes through the screening process. Teachers, of course, should have the final say as to whom they want in leadership positions; but if we are to avoid elevating teachers with a modicum of skills or expertise into a position of leadership simply because they are "nice people," a screening device is needed. Selection criteria may

be as simple as a questionnaire asking the prospective teacher leader about the things he knows or feels about specific educational practices. Such an instrument, of course, must reflect those things the client teachers feel are important, as well as generic knowledge. If a person is elevated into a leadership position and does not have the requisite knowledge and ability to perform the tasks desired, little if anything positive will result.

Evaluation processes. It is interesting to observe the degree of self-consciousness that many teachers display about evaluating their teacher leaders. Even though they help to develop the evaluation criteria and the behavioral manifestations of successful leadership, teachers are sometimes reluctant to make what they consider adverse criticisms. What needs to be done, then, is to expand the evaluation process to make sure that it is based strictly on behaviors which can be verified easily. Others, in addition to the teachers served, need to be involved in evaluation. The evaluation is based only on behavioral criteria because nonbehavioral or general category type evaluation processes or instruments are of very limited value.

Structural versus substantive change. Some educators are willing to accept overt changes, such as new open-space facilities, or a differentiated definition of roles, or a new curriculum packet, as evidence of actual change. There is a real danger in such a practice. The essence of change, substantive change, is change in behavior, which is more likely to result from defining behavioral goals, establishing training programs, allowing and encouraging growth, and providing effective evaluation. If substantive, behavioral change takes place, then structural, overt changes are almost guaranteed.

Those entering into the development of a DS model should avoid getting trapped in the syndrome called "build the model at all costs." By that we mean those changes that may be made in haste, before other components of the model have had a chance to settle in. Sometimes the pressure of outside evaluators or the desire for outside funding adds to this desire to make haste. Such a process may result in the failure of the entire project. One project failed because the administration thought it could initiate DS as a *fait accompli.* It lasted for a brief period of time, but when it collapsed, this also did irreparable harm to other promising innovations that were then being tried.

In another case, DS was introduced, and seemingly imple-

mented and rolling along. After two years, it was discovered that absolutely nothing was taking place, that the project was on paper only, and that the program had never been accepted or utilized by teachers. Educators need to accept the idea that changes introduced must be tested and, if need be, discarded. Yet in either case, the decision to "go" or "not go" should be based upon real understanding and actual evaluation rather than whimsy or ineptitude.

New orthodoxy. In some instances, developers of DS have felt that once they had achieved some sort of professional career hierarchy or "ladder" the task was complete. In such cases, people were locked into leadership positions and, for all intents and purposes, a new bureaucracy had been formed. One of the potential strengths of DS is that no leader is permitted to rest secure in a tenured position. Each must constantly demonstrate his abilities. In Temple City each person in leadership is evaluated four times a year and must meet specifications or lose his position. Even then, after two years, all positions are reopened and new challengers allowed to compete for leadership positions. If new orthodoxies are allowed to form, the climate of renewal, teacher advancement, and openness is lost, to the detriment of the entire program.

Attitudinal problems. Problems of disbelief and of uncertainty may become evident. Administrators sometimes either are unwilling or feel too threatened to give up traditionally defined power and authority. In such situations "game playing" results; this becomes perfectly obvious to teachers over time, and is often destructive to the program. Teachers may also fear a new definition of accountability on the basis of performance.

Some professionals are so satisfied with the status quo that they resist new ideas. Some teachers, and some teacher leaders, come to view leadership as a new elite rather than as a role instituted to provide service. All of these attitudinal problems, as well as many others not identified here, need to be confronted if any model is to have a reasonable chance of success. One of the most fruitful ways to approach such problems is through human relations training. If nothing else, after such training the rejection of DS will perhaps be more honest and open.

Training time. Obviously, any program as comprehensive as DS demands a great deal of training and retraining. There will be training for attitude change, skill development, knowledge input, planning, product development, and a host of other things. Train-

ing time and funding must be carefully planned and priorities set for the development of the model.

In some models, for example, teacher leaders are released from other duties for leadership training with experienced teachers. Minimum days and funded summer work are provided for classroom teachers, and credit is given for creative work outside the confines of the school when justified on the basis of contribution to the ongoing program. Some models also have developed special mini-project guidelines under which teachers and teacher leaders compete for funds for training and developmental work. If training time is not somehow provided, practical considerations mitigate against successful development and implementation of such a model.

Funding. Contrary to expectations, DS is *not* a means, at least initially, of saving money for a district. The model in Temple City calls for master teachers to receive the same pay as assistant superintendents. Senior teachers are to receive salaries that are the equivalent of principals' salaries. It may be necessary at first to have a dual salary schedule, one with a "grandfather" schedule for those unwilling to take the risk of compensation based upon performance.

We projected that over a period of 10 years, with normal teacher turnover rates, the model would be completely funded without major strain on financial resources. The same total amount of money would be used, but the distribution would be different. With the current status of teacher job opportunities, however, and the consequent decline in teacher turnover, we have found it necessary to maintain our model at its present degree of completion rather than to continue expanding it. Very careful consideration has had to be given to outside funding to avoid overreaching. A careful phasing-in program would probably be wise. At any rate, with caution, funding can become a less urgent problem.

Other problems. There are, of course, other problems. Professional organizations have quite naturally been suspicious of any plan that recognizes differences among teachers, and those taking extra responsibility and commitment, for fear that it will divide teachers and diminish bargaining power. We have found, however, that the inclusion of professional organizations from the beginning and the building in of acceptable safeguards to protect organizational goals have expanded the opportunity to try ideas. As a matter of fact, many of the most productive ideas in Temple City

resulted from the suggestions and safeguards submitted by the professional organizations.

Decision making may also become a problem because the process is definitely slower. Hiring a new teacher, for example, is no longer based solely on the recommendation of an administrator. Time is required for teachers to screen applications and schedule interviews. Quite often, teachers arrange to have applicants actually teach classes and be observed or videotaped. Then, the group must come to consensus before a recommendation is made. Such a process requires quite a bit of time, but the degree of acceptance afterward more than compensates for the additional time required. Teachers involved in the decision have a degree of personal commitment to helping the new teacher succeed, as would be expected and can easily be observed.

Avoiding administrative manipulation of the program, and dissuading board members from trying to use the plan as a way to scale down wages, are other problems. Including board members in developmental processes and confronting administrators with forceful teachers help to minimize these difficulties.

We could go on with more and more problems, but we would become redundant. The point has been made, at any rate, that simply forging ahead into DS is not sufficient in itself to solve all problems. It is not, as the Davies quotation at the beginning of this chapter suggests, a panacea to differentiate one's staff. There are problems associated with its development, its implementation, its evaluation, and its ongoing processes. We feel, however, that it is such a strong productive change in education that all the problems associated with DS are minimal in comparison.

The need for such a change is obvious. We hope that detractors will find out more about it before they write it off. We also hope that those educational leaders who face the challenge of the survival and improvement of American education will investigate DS as a potentially viable means for solving many of the problems in organizational change that all of us face, if the schools are truly to serve the interests of their clients.

3. PLANNING FOR SUCCESS

A. JOHN FIORINO

No one consciously plans for failure, but the number of unsuccessful innovations in education raises a question of subconscious intent. Is it possible that we, as teachers and administrators, have unknowingly built failure into experiments with new ideas because we feared the needed changes and therefore planned poorly? Fearing change may have been a factor in a few situations, but in most cases failure was probably caused by inadequate planning.

Traditionally, educational planning has consisted of deciding whether or not we should adopt and implement some preconceived product, practice, or idea. The basis for making the decision has tended to be a visceral judgment founded on personal bias. This type of planning may have served us well when life and education were much simpler, but in this complex age such an approach is no longer viable.

Differentiated staffing must be viewed as one of the most complex innovations proposed during the past several decades. Because a fully developed model for staffing differentiation requires new staff roles and relationships, a change in the utilization of time and resources, expanded curricular opportunities, and greater flexibility and variety in modes of instruction, a simple decision to adopt will not suffice. The complexities of a differentiated staffing model will generate unforeseen and unexpected problems regardless of the care taken in planning.

Staff members who implement the model must not only adjust to their new roles and responsibilities, but must also cope with unforeseen problems as they arise. Because any group, regardless of its enthusiasm and skill, has the ability to solve only a limited number of problems in a given amount of time, the success of any innovation is likely to relate directly to the number of potential problems that are identified and solved prior to implementation. Therefore, anyone preparing to adopt DS must carefully consider the planning procedures to be used in designing and implementing

a model. Since traditional methods of educational planning are inadequate for coping with the complexities of a DS model, a new planning procedure is needed.

Systems Approach to Planning

One of the most complicated planning projects attempted to date has been our space program and moon probe. To accomplish this task, NASA had to develop planning procedures capable of handling extremely complex problems. These same planning procedures can be adapted to serve as a model for the planning and implementation of DS.

Many names have been given to the process used by NASA, but included in almost all is the term "system." For our purposes, *systems approach* will be the name given to the planning process being proposed. Prior to a discussion of how it can be applied, defining terms at this point promotes later understanding. Planning is the most commonly expressed and least understood word used in this chapter. When used here, *planning* means a systematic process which defines goals and constraints; establishes policies, practices, and procedures designed to achieve the goals within the constraints, both present and future; and includes procedures for implementation.

A relatively new concept needing clarification deals with the systems approach. As used in the developing literature, systems approach has two dimensions which could be labeled general systems and systems technology. *General systems,* or general systems theory, attempts to define the nature of a system and to formulate principles which can be applied to systems in general. The knowledge derived from general systems theory is used as a tool for analyzing and designing a system.

Systems technology refers to the systematic process used in the design of a system. Technology in this sense does not refer to machines, media, hardware, or software, but rather is derived from the Greek word *technologia* denoting systematic treatment or technique. Systems technology starts with a definition of purpose and utilizes a complex of standardized means and techniques to produce a system that is capable of accomplishing the stated purpose. It converts spontaneous and unreflective behavior into behavior that is deliberate and rational.

The *systems approach,* therefore, can be conceptualized as a process which utilizes the principles of general systems theory and

systems technology to improve planning procedures, produce better decisions, and design effective systems. A formula for the systems approach might be ST + STc + STe = P. (ST = Systems Theory, STc = Systems Technology, STe = Systems Techniques, P = Product.)

Space limitations will not permit a thorough discussion of the application of the systems approach to developing a DS model. Consequently, any school district preparing to take this step should investigate the use of the systems approach and, ideally, seek the help of a person who has a working knowledge of its application. The most that can be accomplished here is to suggest some of the major types of activities in planning a model. These would include:

1. *Define the boundaries of the system to be planned.* Will the DS model to be planned include all educational levels or one level? If one level, which will be planned for first? Although these questions may appear to be relatively simple, arriving at an appropriate answer will require considerable thought and analysis. Serious thought must be given to the question of whether the model will be utilized in the same way in the elementary, middle, junior high, and senior high schools.

Objectives and instructional modes used in each of these schools must be taken into account. The decision may then be made that the needs of these levels differ significantly, and, therefore, each will require a model which attends to its particular needs. Or it may be decided that one model can serve all levels. Regardless of which decision is made, the point is that each school district must define the boundaries of the model it will be planning.

2. *State the objectives for the model.* Educators tend to consider themselves experts in stating objectives. Compared to other professions, we are experts, but a lesson may be learned from business and industry, where stating organizational objectives is a growing trend. Aside from the obvious objective to make money, many businesses and industries are defining organizational behaviors and personal benefits to be derived by their members. A school district moving into DS must recognize that it is in the process of developing a totally new organization to accomplish its objectives. It seems expedient, therefore, to consider stating not only the educational objectives but also the organizational objectives for the model.

A basic principle in the systems approach to planning is to start with clear definition of objectives. The rationale for this first

principle is quite simple. It is impossible to plan a viable organization unless the planners know what the organization is to accomplish. The time spent on stating the objectives for the model, regardless of the amount of time consumed, will reap substantial dividends later in the process. With a clear statement of objectives, all later decisions become relatively uncomplicated.

3. *Identify system constraints.* A *constraint* is any factor which will limit, to some degree, the freedom to make decisions concerning the implementation or operation of the model. Some constraining factors would be fiscal resources; state laws dealing with curriculum, instruction, and personnel; instructional facilities available; time available for instruction; competency of the existing staff; and countless other possible factors. The reason for identifying the constraints is to avoid a veto of the final model or otherwise declaring it inappropriate because it will not function within existing constraints.

4. *Perform functional analysis.* To perform a functional analysis, the planners identify those functions which must be performed to achieve the objectives of the model. Major functions might include administration, curriculum development, instructional process, instructional management, scheduling, and evaluation. Obviously, other functions must be performed to plan, implement, test, and maintain the model. These are traditional categories; they may not necessarily be the best method for labeling the processes.

A useful procedure may be to list as many functions as possible regardless of how minor they may seem, then to cluster and label the functions identified. Depending on the needs and conditions which exist in the school district, the categories may be traditional or reflective of the philosophy upon which the model is being planned. Each of the identified functions becomes a functional component.

5. *Determine planning priorities.* The complex nature of a DS model may preclude the possibility of planning all the functional components concurrently. Therefore, the functional components must be analyzed to determine the sequence in which planning should occur. Certain functional components will require prerequisite information before planning can begin. For example, instructional roles cannot be planned until instructional strategies are identified. The result of this process should be a listing of the functional components according to a hierarchy of priorities.

6. *Develop planning schedule.* The planning schedule might well take the form of a flow chart laying out the logical sequence in which the planning activities should occur. A typical flow chart consists of a series of boxes connected by arrows. The boxes are numbered sequentially and labeled to identify the primary activity which is to occur at that point in the total planning process. The arrows indicate the direction of activity flow. Secondary or contributing activities may also be included by placing them in boxes and drawing arrows to show that they are part of a primary activity.

Because a flow chart for a complicated planning project can be depicted on a single page, the planners can easily conceptualize the total planning process and the details involved in completing their task. The planning steps proposed here were used to prepare the illustrative flow chart depicted in Figure 1. Activities which would contribute to stating the objectives are also included.

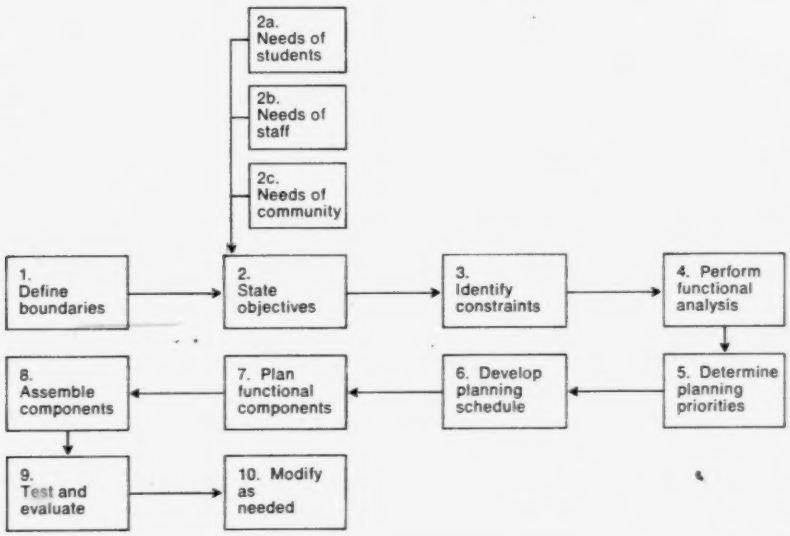

Figure 1. Illustrative Flow Chart

7. *Plan functional components.* The actual planning of the functional components should be relatively easy if all the preceding steps have been completed carefully. To accomplish this, the task forces planning the functional components would follow the planning steps as outlined here.

8. *Assemble components.* When all of the components are planned, these are assembled to produce the total model. Regardless of the diligence of the component planners, interfacing problems will appear when the parts are assembled. Required adjustments will have to be made in each of the components to ensure that the total DS model will be capable of functioning within the constraints of the school district.

9. *Test, evaluate, and modify.* Although these tasks are listed as one, they are obviously discrete steps which must be followed carefully. Anyone who has been involved in implementing a DS model would agree that it would be the height of folly to adopt a model throughout a school district without prior testing, evaluation, and modification.

Model Development

The task of developing a DS model, as has been suggested, is not to be taken lightly. The experience gained by lighthouse districts such as Temple City, Sarasota County, and Mesa which have developed and implemented DS models has indicated that certain areas of development require special attention. The first conclusion to be drawn from the experiences of the lighthouse districts is that each school district should develop its own model. Obviously, each school district is unique; no two school districts operate within the same set of constraints. Further, the educational needs of various communities differ; hence, the need for a locally developed model.

One area which has proven to be particularly troublesome has been staff relationships. Problems which have arisen generally have not been caused by lack of goodwill but, rather, by a lack of understanding. Unless great care is taken in spelling out the roles and responsibilities of staff members at each level of the hierarchy, a frustration factor will be built into the model which has the potential of destroying the project. Also included in this area are personnel policies and procedures which should be defined as precisely as possible. They would include:

1. Qualifications needed for each position
2. Procedures to be used for promotions
3. How and by whom each staff member will be evaluated
4. Which ranks will be awarded tenure and how it is attained

5. Procedures for arbitrating grievances
6. Decision-making powers for each rank.

As instructional roles change, the curriculum and the instructional process must be examined to determine if they remain viable. Experience has demonstrated that curricular revisions should be relatively minor compared to the instructional changes necessitated by the adoption of DS. Curricular revisions tend to be primarily in the addition of new areas of study and greater individualization of program. The instructional process, on the other hand, has been totally revised in the majority of cases.

Individualization and personalization of instruction have been the keystones of the major models developed to date. The recasting of the instructional process into new forms has also forced a reconsideration of the use of time and space. Modular or flexible scheduling and learning centers have become part of many models. The complexity of planning new modes of instruction, flexible scheduling, and learning centers dictates that as much detailed planning as possible be completed prior to implementation.

Planners must try to anticipate possible problems. Following implementation, little time will be available to extinguish small fires as they occur. The old adage "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" might well serve as the motto for those engaged in planning the model.

Evaluation also deserves serious consideration during the planning process. A school district moving to differentiated staffing will at some point be asked to make an accounting of the benefits received as a result of adopting the new organization. If planning for evaluation begins as soon as possible after the decision has been made to develop a model, bench mark data may be gathered for later comparison with data collected after implementation. In addition, an evaluation system should be operative following implementation to provide the feedback needed to solve problems as they arise.

Planning for implementation is a critical but often neglected part of planning. As has been stated previously, many innovative practices have failed not because they were unworkable but because they were not implemented properly. Consequently, model development should include plans for implementation. This type of planning involves a certain amount of detective work interlaced with playing the role of devil's advocate. It is an anticipatory type of activity. Every effort should be made to identify any possible road-

blocks or factors that may impede or prevent successful implementation. A partial list might include:

1. In-service education for the staff
2. Alterations or refurbishing of rooms
3. Instructional supplies to be purchased or prepared
4. Community sentiment
5. Attitude of staff members who have not participated in the project
6. Student attitudes.

Organizing for Planning

The decision to plan a DS model should be followed by the development of an organization for planning. The vehicle for successful planning should be a central decision-making body which would prepare planning policies and direct the planning activities necessary to develop the kind of DS model that will satisfy the needs of the school district. A project steering committee appears to be the most common approach used by school districts which are or have been engaged in planning a model.

Members of the steering committee should be drawn from the various groups, curricular areas, and levels of the school district. The committee would include representatives of the instructional staff, administration, support services, and the teacher collective bargaining agency. Although representatives from all groups should be included, a representative from the latter group is imperative. Exclusion will almost guarantee opposition. The inclusion of lay representation should also be given serious consideration.

The steering committee not only serves as the policy- and decision-making body for the project, but its members also serve as representatives on the various task forces which will engage in the actual planning of the model. Following the functional analysis referred to earlier in the planning process, the steering committee should be in a position to establish the task forces they deem necessary. Typical task forces and their responsibilities would include:

1. Staff roles and responsibilities
   a. Establish hierarchy of position
   b. Define roles and responsibilities for each position
   c. Define interrelationships between positions
   d. Prepare guidelines for establishing salary differentials

   e. Prepare personnel policies and procedures for promotion, awarding tenure, evaluation, etc.

2. Curriculum revision
   a. Review existing curriculum
   b. Identify areas needing revision in light of the objectives stated for the model
   c. Plan and recommend needed revisions.

3. Instructional strategies
   a. Identify instructional strategies needed to achieve the objectives of the model
   b. Develop flexible scheduling system
   c. Recommend modification needed in facilities.

4. Evaluation
   a. Gather bench mark data
   b. Design an evaluation system for continuous evaluation
   c. Develop a system for utilizing evaluation data.

5. Research
   a. Identify constraints which may affect the model
   b. Disseminate information concerning constraints to steering committee and appropriate task forces
   c. Assist task forces in gathering data or information.

6. Public relations
   a. Conduct community survey to establish needs and purposes
   b. Serve as liaison between the project and the community
   c. Disseminate information about the project to the community
   d. Serve as a clearinghouse for questions about the project.

7. Implementation
   a. Plan implementation schedule
   b. Recommend in-service education programs.

Managing the Planning Project

Although the steering committee performs a management function, plans should facilitate effective management by vesting authority in one individual. It would be a mistake to assume that the superintendent or some other harried administrator can assume the responsibility of managing the total project. A program model that could potentially affect every segment of the school district

is much too large to be managed on a part-time basis. A full-time director who serves as executive secretary for the steering committee is needed. Although there may be little evidence to support this position, much of the success experienced by existing DS programs can be traced to the project directors. Committees serve important functions, but they are incapable of attending to the countless details involved in a project of this size.

The project director would be responsible for the day-to-day management of the project. *Management* as used here requires the project director to assume responsibility for control, communication, and decision-making procedures. *Control,* in this context, refers to the integration and the coordination of the decision-making process. The project director screens, routes, schedules, assigns, coordinates, expedites, and follows up organizational problems. He, in effect, creates and maintains conditions conducive to effective decision making. *Communication* refers to the process of having the correct information in the appropriate place at the proper time so that the best possible decisions can be made. *Decision-making procedures* refers to the systematic processes used by the organization to solve its problems. Since the purpose for the existence of the steering committee and various task forces is to solve the myriad problems associated with the development of a DS model, the decision-making process which could be used deserves some discussion.

Decision making can be defined as a process or strategy for devising solutions to problems. The literature dealing with decision making indicates a wide variety of views about the sequence of steps involved in reaching a decision. To meet the needs of an ad hoc group whose purpose is to plan a differentiated model, a six-step decision-making model is proposed:

1. Identification of the problem
2. Diagnosis of the problem
3. Search for alternative solutions
4. Selection of the best solution
5. Ratification of the solution
6. Authorization of the solution.

This sequence assumes that the steering committee and the various task forces have defined the objectives they are attempting to achieve. Without objectives, none of the groups associated with the project will be able to identify the problems they must solve.

To illustrate how the process might work, an example will be

drawn from the tasks to be performed by the instructional strategies task force. One of its objectives might be to raise the reading level of the students. The identified problem (1) is to devise instructional strategies to solve the problem of low reading achievement. Next would be to diagnose the problem to determine probable causes (2). When the probable causes have been identified, possible solutions are sought to solve the problems identified (3). To accomplish this most effectively, the members of the task force must search the literature and their own experience to identify as many solutions as possible. There is no need to assess the feasibility or effectiveness of the solutions they have identified.

Following a thorough search, the listed solutions are examined to determine their probable cost and effectiveness and to determine if they are possible within the constraints which have been identified previously. As a result of this analysis, the best solution or combination of solutions is selected (4) and forwarded to the other task forces for ratification (5). Ratification does not imply veto power. The other task forces will either indicate that the solution is acceptable or that its acceptance will cause a conflict with the solution they are proposing. If there is a conflict, the two task forces would meet to resolve the problem. Following ratification, the solution is forwarded to the steering committee for authorization to be included in the model (6).

Time for Success

The complexity of a DS model and the need for careful planning have been stressed repeatedly. The purpose has not been to frighten potential adopters, but rather to impress the reader with the need for approaching the development of a model with a full knowledge of the task to be accomplished. Of the guidelines and suggestions presented here, perhaps the most important has not been discussed. That is to allow adequate time for planning and implementation. Although there is no way of determining the precise amount of time needed, a comment made by a superintendent in the process of implementing a differentiated staffing model may provide a rule of thumb. He claims that two years would not be unreasonable and that three years might be better.

Two or three years may appear to be an excessive amount of time, but the wisdom of the recommendation may become obvious if the project is viewed in this way. The actual planning of the model could conceivably be accomplished in less than two years,

but success of the project will depend only partially on the model which is finally adopted. Ultimate success will depend on the people who must translate the written model into reality. No model, regardless of the care taken in planning, can succeed unless the staff members have not only the appropriate knowledges and skills to ensure success but also the commitment to make it succeed. What is involved is more than changing roles, curriculum instructional strategies, or policies and procedures.

The staff that must make it all work must also change. They must be able to function in a completely new setting. Experience has demonstrated that the most serious problems which have arisen in the implemented models have been caused by people, not the model. Therefore, the best advice that can be given is to take the time needed to bring the staff to the same level of enthusiasm as the proposers of the innovation. Eagerness to demonstrate results should not stand in the way of recognizing that success takes time.

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4. IMPLEMENTATION OF DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING

GENE PILLOT

POSITIVE CHANGE occurs in an innovation such as differentiated staffing only when the model is fluid and flexible. Conversely, the fluidity and flexibility are provided by change; the solution becomes the process, and differentiated staffing is seen to be a total flexible organization for instruction.[1] In the implementation of a flexible instructional organization, four broad interrelated factors are involved in a continuous process of development: the mechanics and logistics of the model, the preparation of a total flexible environment, the human relations and interrelations, and evaluation.

Mechanics and Logistics of Implementation

System analyst Roger Kaufman has pointed out that the learning management job may be thought of as the planning, organizing, designing, implementing, and evaluating of learning situations and outcomes, and making required continuing revisions to assure relevancy and practicality.[2] Kaufman warns, however, that educational managers often start with "how" something should be accomplished before the "what" has been adequately identified and defined.[3]

The development and implementation of differentiated staffing, flexible instructional organization (FIO), must begin, therefore, with the identification of the problem from a broad school-system-wide needs assessment. It will be the purpose in this section to discuss implementation when planning and organizing are assumed to have been completed and the FIO model designed accordingly.

[1] Gene Pillot. "A Conceptual Design of a System Model of Differentiated Staffing." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1970.

[2] Roger A. Kaufman. "A Possible Integrative Model for the Systematic and Measurable Improvement of Education." *American Psychologist* 26: 250-56; March 1971.

[3] Kaufman, *loc. cit.*

Staffing model. A primary part of the model used in a flexible instructional organization is the staffing pattern. It must be responsive to the many varieties of conditions and needs that exist in the school centers where staff members are assigned, and it must have a built-in mechanism of fluidity, to permit the implementers to modify a staffing pattern when necessary. All schools in which a differentiated staff is used (a) are either new or reopened schools in which no staff existed at the time differentiation was begun, or (b) are traditionally staffed, operating schools in which the transition to differentiation is desired.

Most of the early models were in schools in the first category.[4] In those schools today, it is relatively easy to implement fully the desired staffing model, for there is no existing staff to absorb. Generally, therefore, the model was tailor-made to size, pattern, and content. It was not extensible to another school, and was usable by others only as an example from which extrapolation was possible or where exact reproduction was acceptable.

A more fluid organization is one which provides a variety of adjustable sizes, patterns, and content and permits any school to utilize a differentiated staff to the extent that local physical, organizational, and personnel constraints allow. This general school system model[5] provides for autonomous selection of a school or departmental model that can be changed as local conditions change, while maintaining a minimum of consistency of staff allocation and staffing pattern opportunities.

Implementation of the model. Each school or department is given a "purchasing power" based upon the enrollment and type of school. This may be compared to a smorgasbord meal at which each diner has equal opportunity to select from the variety of foods and can change his selection at subsequent visits to the table, but also is limited to select only from the foods available and only to the extent of his capacity and need. A diner becomes increasingly sophisticated in his selection as he learns from his previous gastronomical mistakes, even though he will make additional bad selections in the future.

The "smorgasbord" model permits differentiated staffing patterns to exist even in a completely traditionally staffed school

[4] For example, Mary Harmon Weeks Elementary School and Martin Luther King Junior High School, Kansas City, Missouri; Aloha High School, Beaverton, Oregon.

[5] For a more detailed description, see Pillot, *op. cit.*

through gradual implementation toward some optimum model as staff attrition occurs, through horizontal differentiation within a traditional staffing pattern, and through in-service programs which prepare individuals to qualify for new roles.

It is suggested that every school or division within a school that is committed to flexible staffing prepare a model that can be considered optimum at a given point in time. While this model must be sensitive to changing needs, it provides the "master plan" by which the differentiated staff is implemented position by position as vacancies occur. The plan should include a table of priorities for positions to be filled. Vacancies must be jealously guarded by those responsible for implementation of the differentiated staffing plan, and administrators must not be permitted to fill any vacant position with a traditional replacement.

Horizontal differentiation. The overall plan should provide for horizontal differentiation, which permits more flexible instruction even in a staff organized along the traditional lines in which all classroom teachers are considered to be interchangeable parts. An assessment of the skills and abilities of the existing staff will identify the particular expertise and strengths of individuals in addition to their traditional subject matter preparation. Some will perform well in a particular mode of instruction or will have unusual command of a subdiscipline.

This kind of horizontal differentiation can provide an intermediate step to FIO in a traditionally staffed school in which staff turnover is limited or nonexistent. Such a structure is too often assumed to be inviolate; but if alternatives are sought, flexible staffing patterns will evolve.[6] This can occur without the violation of legal and ethical commitments to the existing staff that would occur if terminations or involuntary transfers were used to create vacancies which would facilitate DS.

In-service education. The acquisition of the direct skills needed by personnel to qualify for roles in staff differentiation; the preparation of the model; the development of the instructional environment, including the curriculum; and the evolution of attitudes and readiness will all require a substantial program of in-service education.

[6] Fenwick W. English and Donald K. Sharpes. *Strategies for Differentiated Staffing.* Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1972.

Implementation costs. Staff and program development is a major one of several additional costs in the implementation of FIO. Other additional costs are essentially transitional, including program development, facilities modification, and initial salary differentials.

The overall *basic* salary costs of staff in a flexible organization need not differ significantly from those in a traditional staff. The staff members are deployed differently, with high-level tasks or low-level tasks assigned to personnel commensurate with their training, skill, and experience. The total salary dollars spent in a given learning setting are not increased, but are instead paid in direct relationship to the tasks performed.

However, in the initial period of implementation, some "seed" money may be needed to pay salary differentials if it is desirable to implement the DS model to an extent greater than staff attrition would permit.

This is a local decision that will depend upon the ad hoc requirements, including the state of readiness, determination to implement, and need for minimum change.

Transitional costs are not local options, however, but are inherent in the early stages of FIO. If steps preliminary to and concurrent with initial implementation of flexible staffing—such as in-service education, curriculum development, provision of resource centers, and remodeling of facilities—are not provided at least minimally, the resulting program will be no more than a simple surface appearance of FIO, and real change in instructional outcomes will happen only by chance.

In one of the major DS projects in the nation, a comprehensive evaluation at the end of 2½ years of operation showed several major deficiencies. All of them appeared to have resulted from inadequate preliminary preparation and transition budget. The fact that these weaknesses were not fatal was probably due to a basically sound model and strong local support of the FIO concept.[7] Examination of that and similar case histories by the reader who has FIO developmental or implementation responsibility will contribute markedly to his ability to provide the necessary framework and preparation for his program, and to the likelihood of its early success.

[7] Fenwick English. "A Report to the Superintendent Regarding the Progress of Venice Junior High School." Sarasota, Florida: Sarasota Public Schools, March 1972. 48 pp. (Mimeographed.)

Preparation of a Flexible Instructional Environment

In addition to the staffing patterns and in-service aspects of FIO discussed earlier in this chapter, it is suggested that at least six other components must be prepared before or concurrent with the transition from a traditional organization: (a) task analysis, (b) differentiation of the teaching process, (c) differentiation of the instructional mode, (d) flexible time scheduling, (e) preparation of the software, and (f) preparation of the hardware.

Task analysis. If a staffing model is prepared without a comprehensive analysis of the tasks that are performed in the teaching act, the resulting division of labor will be either a hodgepodge of administrative guesswork that will assign the wrong tasks to the wrong people, or overlook essential tasks; or it will be a restatement of traditional job assignments that will return quickly to a steady state and result in a staff of look-alike, do-alike professionals aided and abetted by a bevy of teacher aides. Anything more functionally innovative than those two results would be merely fortuitous good luck.

Furthermore, unless there has been a thorough task analysis, there are no data by which the present staffing structure may be demonstrated to be inadequate. In that circumstance, it will be suspected that change is advocated for the sake of change or the appearance of "being with it."[8]

An adequate task analysis will require experience, expertise, and time to list as many discrete tasks of instruction and ancillary services as possible, and to categorize them along continua of highest level to lowest level and most extensive to least extensive—degrees of qualitative and quantitative influence. In a continuously fluid situation, teachers can make their analysis and modify their tasks as the model is being implemented. A detailed procedure and model for task analysis in teaching was prepared and field-tested in Mesa, Arizona, in 1970.[9] The subjective judgment in this and other task analyses provides for any school system sufficient oppor-

[8] Fenwick English. "How To Negotiate a Differentiated Teaching Staff." Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Teachers Federation, November 1971. p. 3.

[9] Fenwick W. English and James Zaharis. "How To Build a Model of Staff Differentiation: A Step by Step Guide in the Development of a Situational Specific Site Model of Differentiated Staffing, Mesa Public Schools, Mesa, Arizona." Claremont, California: Center for Differentiated Staffing, 1971. 38 pp. (Mimeographed.)

tunity for influence by the local philosophy and community characteristics.

Differentiation of the teaching process. Inevitably the task analysis will lead to a differentiation of the teaching process into four major categories: diagnosis, prescription, instruction, and evaluation.[10] From the outset, this categorization will help the lay citizen and the staff member to see that a vertical hierarchy in staff differentiation is inherently necessary, even inescapable.

The process of diagnosing the unique and immediate educational needs of a child is a highly skilled speciality that requires substantial training in human behavior and psychology, educational theory, specific subject matter, and measurement. The results of faulty and incomplete diagnosis can include at best a misuse of the learner's time and the school's resources, and at worst the lessening or destruction of the interest and willingness of the student to participate in the educational process.

An erroneous prescription of specific learning activities for an individual student, whether based on an inept diagnosis or a misjudgment of the proper treatment, is potentially as serious an error as the bad diagnosis. The results are likely to be similar. Neither diagnosis nor prescription should be assigned to an inexperienced or inadequately trained professional. Conversely, when skill in either activity is available, the professional who possesses it should be exposed to as many students as possible, and relieved of all lower-level tasks. Thus, the task meets both the tests of qualitative and quantitative influence, and should be high on a vertical hierarchy, with commensurate status and salary.

Ironically, the process that may be considered by many educators and lay citizens to be the total process of education, instruction, is in fact the least demanding of the four categories. Instruction is the overt process in which the educational prescriptions are carried out, and is the part of the educational program in which the paraprofessional is involved. Under the direction, guidance, and monitoring of professionals, a teacher aide, instructional assistant, clerical aide, technical aide, or paraprofessional of any title will perform specific duties as part of the instructional act. His position on the vertical hierarchy is lower and is commensurate with the sophistication and qualitative-quantitative influence of his duties.

[10] *Differentiated Staffing.* Nassau, New York: Central New York Regional Office for Educational Planning and Board of Cooperative Educational Services, 1971. 651 pp.

The final step, evaluation, is again a professional responsibility requiring substantial expertise. It is the final step in the process, but yet is akin to the first step of diagnosis. Thus it is the catalyst to recycling the four steps.

If the process of education is not seen as a differentiation of tasks into the four broad categories described here, or others similarly named, there will be no real implementation of DS. Without the requisite task analysis and the recognition that there is a continuum of levels of tasks in teaching, there can be no acceptance of a division of roles according to expertise, no allocation of the salary dollars according to role, and no increased flexibility in the utilization of other resources.

Differentiation of the instructional mode. When vertical and horizontal staffing and differentiation of the teaching process exist, there will be a commensurate need to implement a multi-modal approach to the teaching act. Any of the four instructional processes of diagnosis, prescription, instruction, and evaluation may occur on an individual basis, or in small or large group settings. Instruction should be provided in all three of these modes, dependent upon the nature of the experience and the expected outcome.

Allen has pointed out that an activity may be conducted in a filled stadium, if the purpose is simply to present cognitive information, and if the speaker has sufficient charisma.[11] Other learning activities will require an environment in which give-and-take in small groups is encouraged and feasible. Still other situations, especially diagnosis and remediation of special needs, should be on a one-to-one basis, and some instruction can be conducted electronically or by the learner himself. The process of task analysis should include a determination of the best mode of presentation.

In each mode a particular teaching skill or aptitude may be required. The horizontal differentiation of a staff must be designed in an FIO model to utilize to a maximum extent the ad hominem strengths of the existing staff, and to select new staff members according to the skill needed. Even in a partially implemented model where vertical differentiation has minimum implementation, horizontal differentiation of the staff into a variety of instructional modes will increase the flexibility of the educational program and enhance the transition to staff differentiation.

Scheduling of time. Most teachers have experienced instruc-

[11] Dwight Allen, in a speech given in Sarasota, Florida, in June 1970.

tional situations in which the bell has rung too soon or too late. The best lesson plans will not substitute for a flexible schedule in which an instructional activity may be discontinued when the intended experience has been completed, or purposely planned to extend for a much longer period of time. To assume that all classes should meet for 45 or 50 minutes, five days each week, is no more logical than to assign no more nor less than 45 or 50 minutes for every surgical operation. Extending the analogy to the classroom suggests that for many years students have been sent out unsutured or with a few extra body parts removed to kill time. Successful flexible scheduling varies from the sophisticated computerized daily demand [12] to the ultimately simple device of assigning a group of students to a team of staff members so that the students may be scheduled according to their needs and the activity to be conducted.[13]

Preparation of software and hardware. A well-organized differentiated staff, which has been carefully selected on the basis of a comprehensive task analysis, and which functions in a multimodal, differentiated teaching process on a flexible time schedule, still will not be able to provide a totally flexible educational program unless the tangible tools—the software and hardware—have been developed and provided for use in the FIO environment. In the nation's first formal differentiated staffing model, implemented at Oak Avenue Intermediate School in Temple City, California, in 1968,[14] and again in 1972 in Venice, Florida,[15] the staff cited as a major unmet need the preparation of learning packets and other written curricular materials.

If the students and staff must depend upon traditional published materials, the ability to differentiate and individualize learning experiences will be substantially less than the organization of differentiated staff, teaching mode and process, and time. The well-known cliché of the chain being no stronger than its weakest link applies, and the implementation of FIO is stunted. It is suggested that individualized learning materials be prepared in advance in quantities several times greater than the staff's estimate

[12] "Staff Utilization: A Report on the Western Region Seminar." Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Teachers Federation, 1972. 80 pp.

[13] English, "A Report to the Superintendent," *op. cit.*

[14] Interview with William Schmidt, Senior Teacher for Mathematics, Oak Avenue Intermediate School, Temple City, California, November 1968.

[15] English, "A Report to the Superintendent," *op. cit.*

of need. In both of the schools mentioned, the students consumed the materials in less than half the time expected.[16]

The learning resource center provides the facilities for individualized study, research, enrichment, and remediation. The centers may be subject-oriented, or they may be organized as substations of a central media center. They should contain materials that are locally developed as well as those commercially prepared and purchased. The local products can include audio or video tapes of current lectures and seminars, filmstrips and slides, printed or duplicated materials, and combination audio-video materials that have been prepared and articulated for reference to a particular learning activity. When materials can be used with portable inexpensive equipment, these resources should be made available to be checked out by students in the same manner as a library book.

In a flexible schedule, the students and staff are provided time for individual or small group use of the learning center. When physically adequate, the resource centers, supplemented by campus or building areas designated for informal student use, will replace the traditional study hall in the secondary schools. Where closer supervision may be needed, a teacher aide should be assigned the student monitoring responsibility. In elementary schools the resource centers may be more centralized and used more frequently for group activities, although the upper grade levels may begin to function as in a junior high or middle school.

The synergism of FIO. The effect of each component of flexible instructional organization (FIO) on the educational process should be one of positive change. The completion of a task analysis by itself will increase the participant's awareness of what occurs in the process of education. This heightened understanding should make the staff better users of the processes. If only a differentiation of staff occurs, even based upon a cursory task analysis, some increase in the efficiency of the use of human resources could be expected. The division of tasks according to expertise and commitment will likely foster job satisfaction and, ultimately, performance.

Providing a flexible schedule will enable competent teachers to use more effectively and appropriately the time assigned with students. The production and availability of curriculum content, materials, and audio-visual resources designed for greater individualization of instruction will enable the student and his teacher

[16] Visits by the author to Temple City, California, in November 1968 and May 1970.

to prescribe learning experiences relevant to particular immediate needs.

Individually, the components provide some of the benefits sought in and ascribed to most innovative practices in schools. Collectively, the components present a greater total effect than the sum of their individual effects and comprise a flexible instructional organization and a flexible learning environment.

Human Relations and Interrelations

If the proverbial horse is thirsty, leading him to the water will be a productive act. He will be ready to drink. If school personnel feel a need for change in the organization of the instructional environment, they will be ready to consider alternative staffing patterns. Readiness depends upon dissatisfaction with the status quo, a belief that something else is better, an understanding of what the proposed product is, and participation by the user in the qualitative and quantitative selection of the product.

A first step to readiness requires that the staff be involved in the decision to consider a differentiated staff and in a carefully planned study of the innovation. It does not matter substantially whether the original proposal to look at alternative staffing patterns came from the teaching staff or the administration. What does matter is the willing agreement to undertake the study. An administrative demand to utilize this—or most other major innovative changes—is doomed almost certainly to failure.[17] The study should involve, in tandem, representatives of the administration, the lay public, the local professional association, and nonmember teachers. If predetermined objectives are established for the study and it is understood that the conclusions will be reached on the evidence gathered, it is very unlikely that a school system will encounter significant unwillingness to study.

Whether a school is organized along traditional or flexible staffing patterns, there will exist a need for each staff member to feel important, to obtain a measure of status. There will be a role hierarchy in either type of organization, and the staff may be deprived of status in both hierarchies.[18] It will be essential in any model of staff differentiation that all roles, professional and para-

[17] For example, Montgomery County, Maryland, 1967.

[18] Victor A. Thompson. *Modern Organization*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961. pp. 81-113.

professional, be clearly defined. Clear-cut job descriptions must be prepared, based upon the comprehensive task analysis and needs assessment described earlier. All positions must be opened to any qualified member of the staff. Selection mechanics, including understandable objective criteria, must be established in advance and vested in a selection committee appropriate to the local model and its philosophy.

In spite of the care and degree of involvement in the development of the FIO model and its implementation, inevitable tensions and frustrations will arise. These should be foreseen and a safety valve provided. Often a simple cathartic opportunity to talk about problems provides a solution to them. This role may be played by a team leader, an administrator, or a peer. It should not be assumed, however, that this will happen automatically. The lack of overt problems does not necessarily mean that passive ulcers are not developing. Very often a question must be asked before an answer is found. It is suggested that periodic spotchecks be built into the FIO program, conducted by local involved staff as well as outside auditors.[19] If this is not done, it is likely that the appearance of peaceful progress may slow down and eventually destroy actual progress.

The solutions to problems that are uncovered will usually require that compromise decisions be made. The decision-making process in a flexible staffing organization is a shared process. A fundamental concept of differentiated staffing is that each member of the staff possesses particular training, experience, and ability that best suit him for the role he fills. He must have a commensurate share in decision making, for it follows that his unique qualifications make him best able to advise and consent on the matters closely related to his role. Group decisions are only as good as the input to them. If any staff member shares inappropriately—either by omission or commission—the policy-making process and the application of the decisions will be equally inappropriate. The decision-making process should be developed cooperatively during the process of study and preparation of the move to a flexible organization. All future problems to arise in FIO cannot be foreseen. The question of decision-making authority can.

In an FIO organization the administrator is a key person. He must possess a personal feeling of security and comfort in his role,

[19] For more detailed information, see: English, "A Report to the Superintendent," *op. cit.*

and be dedicated to the principles of flexible instructional organization. It will be his responsibility in a flexible staff organization, as in more traditional settings, to facilitate the creation and maintenance of an environment in which the teaching process can best happen. Inasmuch as role differentiation commits to each member of the staff a responsibility and an opportunity to share in the total organization and conduct of the school, the administrator cannot assume or preempt those rights and responsibilities without strangling the FIO program.

Regardless of his belief in the program and his own dedication to it, the administrator must practice the precepts of flexibility and permit the staff to do so. It will be important that the administrator's role is monitored continually. This will happen automatically if an internal decision-making body is enfranchised. As in the case of total program evaluation, an occasional external auditor should consult with the FIO administrator.

Throughout the entire process of consideration, study, planning, implementation, and evaluation of flexible instructional organization, it is essential that continuous communication be provided. This should be a two-way communication. It should not be assumed that telling guarantees understanding. In a recent evaluation after 2½ years of study and implementation of FIO, it was found that not one staff member was able to indicate what the specific objectives of the program were.[20]

Public and staff understanding of differentiated staffing (DS) may come slowly and with difficulty. Many school systems may face a triple deterrent to communication: the tendency of people not to read or listen thoroughly and in total context, if at all; the strong possibility of a preconceived bias against change of any kind, and major innovation in particular; and, finally, a tendency on the part of the proponents of the program to be so involved in their honest dedication to what they are doing that they assume everyone else understands and feels the same.

It is suggested that a carefully prepared and conducted program of publicity be established at the time the first study of differentiated staffing begins. Someone should be designated to coordinate the writing and dissemination of progress reports to staff, students, and the community. The publicity program must continue routinely throughout the study and implementation of the program. In reality, the publicity can never stop, for even if the FIO program

[20] *Ibid.*

becomes very well entrenched and understood, there will still be the need to inform the staff and community about a program that has earned that status. Finally, it is strongly suggested that telling the story always includes telling the whole story honestly, even evaluation reports that may be less than totally positive.

Evaluation

Evaluation is a feared word. It means judgment. The innovative school district may have mixed feelings about judgment of a process which calls for the creation of an alternative which is not very clearly defined.

It is well to dispense with the idea that experimental design can be of much assistance.[21] Experimental design is based on the assumption that some or most of the variables in the design can be controlled. This is almost impossible when dealing with a broad scale innovation.

Needs assessment. What is desired is to determine and specify in advance the conditions or outcomes which the selected innovation will help attain. The function of a needs assessment is critical in this process. A needs assessment is based upon precise statements about desired or "ought to be" conditions. It follows, then, that if a system knows where it ought to be, it can tell whether or not it *is* there at some point in the future. Implicit in this whole process is the sufficient delineation of clear, precise process and product objectives which represent both means and ends to the stated goals.

Evaluation should be nothing to fear—unless, of course, one does not know where he is heading or what future conditions are desired. If the selection of staff differentiation has been an intelligent and rational choice, evaluation is merely the process of building in a self-correcting vehicle for determining whether the plans are on target, and making the necessary adjustments to arrive there. By the establishment of such plans with clear objectives, cost benefit analysis is much easier to accomplish, and the plan is much easier to defend and implement.

Accountability for change. There are those who imply that what the objectives of the innovation connote is not possible to

[21] Fenwick W. English, Larry E. Frase, and Raymond G. Melton. "Evaluating the Effects of Implementing a Differentiated Teaching Staff: Problems and Issues." Mesa, Arizona: Mesa Public Schools, November 1971. 16 pp. (Mimeographed.)

measure or assess. This is not the case if by measurement one includes all the possible methods-means to indicate the presence or absence of desired conditions. There is a syndrome in education that "the educative process does not measure everything; what is most important is not measurable—that is what we do best." [22] Really, this approach is a cop-out in facing squarely the responsibilities of being accountable for change. People as change agents should be as accountable as those who resist the change itself.

A national meeting of staff differentiation project directors in Mesa, Arizona, late in the spring of 1971, focused on this problem. The directors had to admit that they lacked substantial pupil data on which to assess whether staff differentiation had made a difference in the classroom. It left the national picture very weak and opened up the criticism that all DS had become was a solution to a teacher problem (recruitment and advancement) instead of a method of improving instruction with pupil growth as the key indicator.

This places staff differentiation in the very definite spot of being a means to an end, and not the end itself; namely, endeavors to improve the efficiency of the school system. This point is not at all clear to the innovators or to the many proponents of staff differentiation. It is much clearer to the opponents, however!

Management by objectives. Once clear objectives in staff differentiation are formulated, then various types of management plans can be derived to plot the interim or enroute objectives, and time and cost attached to reaching those indices. Evaluation then can show not only whether outcomes were reached at some point in time, but whether interim objectives were reached, and whether certain specified processes were used as indicated to achieve the interim results. If the entire process is set within such parameters, it is far easier to make corrections as one proceeds, rather than waiting until the entire process is completed and, subsequently, labeling the effort a failure.

Failure or success can be determined only if the vehicle selected could or could not produce the desired outcomes. If outcomes were unspecified in the first place, evaluation is impossible. The political and educational implications of being unable to determine whether much time and energy were productive are hazardous at best.

The evaluation of Venice Junior High School in Sarasota

[22] Attributed to Barak Rosenshine, University of Illinois.

County, Florida, revealed the fact that instruction per se was not touched very much by the staffing changes.[23] This was because the changes desired were never couched in terms of pupil changes. In the absence of this information, the staff was denied the very feedback it required to make the model selected more effective in terms of pupil learning. About all that could be said was that staff differentiation should avoid these same mistakes. That is a major purpose of this publication. Evaluation is not particularly difficult when one knows precisely what it is that is intended or desired in the future.

The evaluative process. The following steps in the evaluative process are recommended for the practitioner:

1. Define future or desired pupil growth outcomes (cognitive, affective, psychomotor)
2. Develop interim or enroute pupil growth outcomes
3. Examine the efficacy of present methods-means in obtaining the desired outcomes (and interim objectives)
4. Develop criteria for selecting methods-means
5. Select the methods-means
6. Develop clusters of methods-means
7. Implement methods-means
8. Perform ongoing evaluation with interim objectives
9. Make ongoing changes
10. Evaluate outcome changes (and repeat).

Problems of instrumentation are not particularly difficult (though compromises will have to be made) if outcomes are known with sufficient clarity to be able to determine whether they have been reached. In the main, unobtrusive data collection can be a useful procedure for determining the effectiveness of altering staffing patterns. The most crucial problem of evaluation is tying staffing changes to pupil growth. With that caveat in mind, evaluation, though at times complex, is demystified and made practical.

[23] English, "A Report to the Superintendent," *op. cit.*

5. THREE P's FROM A POD: STAFF DIFFERENTIATION IN A MULTI-UNIT SCHOOL

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As a member of a long-range research project focused on the organizational implications of instructional change,[1] I had the opportunity in May 1972 to spend a week as an observer in a "POD" school in Wisconsin. POD School was then concluding its second year of operation in a new building especially designed to facilitate programs for restructuring teaching space and reorganizing teaching personnel.

In contrast to the traditional one-teacher, one-classroom organization of the elementary school, all the teachers and pupils at POD were organized into four large instructional units. Each unit reflected a more extended differentiation in staff responsibilities and a wider range of pupil ages than are ordinarily seen in a self-contained classroom. Instruction was handled in flexible groups, with changing assignments for both the teachers and the pupils throughout the school day, at regular intervals during the school year, and on an ad hoc basis whenever the teaching staff immediately responsible (the unit leader and the several teachers and helpers assigned to the unit) deemed a change to be desirable. In Wisconsin this pattern of staff organization for instruction is known as the *multi-unit approach*. My research assignment—to visit a school acknowledged for successfully implementing a new form of organization—was for the purpose of learning how it had overcome problems that in other schools sometimes provide formidable barriers to change.

My approach in studying formal education settings from an

[1] The study of the organizational implications of instructional change has been a major interest among several colleagues at CASEA. A number of individual studies are reported in: W. W. Charters, Jr., *et al. Contrasts in the Process of Planned Change of the School's Instructional Organization.* Eugene, Oregon: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1973.

anthropological perspective introduces some special bias which I should make clear at the outset. One element of this bias is that I am inclined to look at what people say and at what they do as complementary dimensions of human behavior, and thus to report on "real" as well as "ideal" aspects of a problem. Perhaps contrasting somewhat with the ideology of DS as expressed by other contributors to this monograph, this chapter will present some evidence that what "is" and what "could be" or "ought to be" are not necessarily the same. I doubt that this observation is really a revelation to many practicing educators.

Further, my perspective on educational change is strongly swayed by an important lesson I have learned from the study of cultural dynamics: that continuity and change go hand in hand. Changes which schoolmen want (and perhaps need) to perceive and herald as gigantic strides can also be viewed in terms of cultural continuity with their antecedents in the past. This perspective argues that at times of even apparently great change most things remain the same, and that aspects of any sociocultural system which *do* seem responsive to change are more often peripheral than central to the system. In shiny new POD School, therefore, I consciously attended not only to what was different but also to elements and behaviors that reflect some long traditions in American public school education. I was not disappointed in my search for evidence of underlying continuity as well as manifest change.

Let me proceed by introducing the trio of "p's from a pod" promised in the title: perspectives, problems, and predictions. *Perspectives* examines the figurative lenses through which both involved participants and an interested observer viewed their professional setting. *Problems* provides the major impetus for conducting this brief on-site study. Earlier efforts by researchers at the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA) to study the implementation process in schools interested in establishing alternate staffing patterns were almost consistently thwarted because of problems sufficient in magnitude to become effective barriers to successful implementation.[2] We had amply documented failures but had been unable to document success. To identify whether problems in cases of successful implementation were similar to those in unsuccessful ones and how those problems had been resolved or were presently being handled, we had decided

[2] See: W. W. Charters, Jr., and Roland J. Pellegrin. "Barriers to the Innovation Process: Four Case Studies of Differentiated Staffing." *Educational Administration Quarterly* 9 (1): 3-14; Winter 1972.

to turn our attention to learning more about the nature of problems associated with conditions of success.[3]

Reviewing these problems and the context in which they are imbedded has tempted me to go beyond the immediately observable and to conjecture about the implementation of differentiated staffing (DS) in schools and the impact that alternative staffing patterns may have on other facets of public education. To emphasize the shift from fact to conjecture, the discussion of *predictions* constitutes a brief and separate concluding section.

Perspectives

I liked the school I visited. I doubt that I could still muster the energy to spend so many hours a day with hordes of children or keep up with so energetic and youthful a faculty; but if I were to teach public school again, certainly POD School would seem to offer opportunity for a high degree of personal involvement to compensate for the investment in energy it so clearly required. A seriousness of purpose and an air of professional accomplishment pervaded staff interaction. Even the most dissident member of the staff was recognized as an excellent teacher. The principal had fortified the staff's own positive self-assessment with a 96 percent "favorable" response (68 percent of families responding) to a questionnaire distributed at the end of the school's first year of operation which (on a forced choice basis) posed the question, "Do you prefer having your child in a multi-unit school using an individually guided learning program?"

POD School might be likened to a giant, square-cornered, three-leaf clover, each "leaf" or pod housing one instructional unit consisting of three or four teachers, one or two instructional aides, one or two intern teachers, and 125-150 pupils. An area central to the three separate pods contains the Instructional Materials Center (IMC) housing the school library, cabinets containing a great assortment of audio-visual equipment, and numerous sets of tables and chairs. No structural walls separate the units internally. Thus the school meets the critical architectural attribute of an open-space

[3] See, for example: Cecil Thompson Wacaster. "The Life and Death of Differentiated Staffing at Columbia High School: A Field Study of an Educational Innovation's Discontinuance" (tentative title). Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, scheduled for completion in 1973. The study was also described in an abridged version in a paper presented at the American Educational Research Association meeting, New Orleans, February 1973.

school as defined in a frequently cited bulletin issued by Stanford University: that visual and acoustical separations between classrooms have been partially or wholly eliminated.[4]

The "pod area," bright and efficient in American fluorescence and formica, is clearly the distinguishing physical feature of the school, and the visitor is drawn (or perhaps ushered) to it almost immediately. The entire area of the "big room" is carpeted, lending a feeling of vastness more likely to give one the impression of being in an airplane hangar or municipal auditorium than in a school. Yet because of carpeting and architectural acoustics, the modulated voices of the teachers and monitored voices of some 460 children presented no distraction even to the newly arrived observer. One group was watching slides, another was reading, still others listened to a teacher; many children were occupied in small groups or independently, some seated or lying on the carpeted floor, others at their desks or at tables in the IMC. Anyone's response on seeing so many humans doing so many different "schooly" things in one place at one time might be comparable to my own: "Well I'll be. . . ."

But look again for what pupils at POD School share with about 33 million other elementary school pupils in America. One enters the pod area from the "stem" of our analogous three-leaf clover. This portion of the building is so familiar in design that the large swinging doors into the pod area appear as a figurative as well as a literal threshold into space. Enter the school via the concrete walk from the street or parking lot and note the ubiquitous flagpole and the equally ubiquitous instructions posted on the door requesting all visitors to report to the office. Notice how removed the office is from the instructional activity of the school. Note the customary multi-use room, teachers lounge, and several sex- and age-graded rooms allocated for toileting.

Note too the anomaly of a traditional wing consisting of four old-fashioned classrooms. Originally this wing was intended to accommodate "special" classes, but it was quickly commandeered to house one of the four regular instructional units. Charitably, the principal refers to this entire portion of the building as "an architectural flaw." One might as easily (but less charitably) argue that the pod area appears as the only flaw in an otherwise very conventional school. Yet the visitor does find himself constantly drawn to the pod area to try to catch the "spirit" of a multi-unit approach,

[4] Stanford School Planning Laboratory. "Open-Space Schools Project Bulletin." Number 1. Stanford, California: Stanford University School Planning Laboratory, 1970.

ignoring the business-as-usual administrative unit and the invitation conveyed by conspicuously open doors of all the classrooms in the conventional wing.

The novelty of the pod area tends to dramatize and call attention to new interaction patterns among pupils and between instructional groups that are virtually mandated by the spatial arrangements. It all appears casual, natural, and different. Yet watch and listen: when it is time for a change of instructional periods within the unit, everyone must be brought to attention and, on some clear signal, advanced to his next post.

Instructions seemed rather detailed, regimentation rather thorough, seemingly as much a function of individual teacher personalities as of institutional requirement. Deportment during changeovers within each unit still appeared a matter of grave teacher concern. Children still line up, and coveted places at the "front of the line" are aggressively sought by children and summarily forfeited at the whim of supervising adults. Teachers still remind the wayward pupil to be quiet and snap their fingers to emphasize it. I found a boy standing a sentence of banishment to the coatroom area for having "forgotten how to behave properly."

At most teaching stations, pupil desks were in rows facing the chalkboard (which is an awfully good way to see it but also suggests that teacher and pupil roles may not have changed very dramatically). The teaching stations themselves were occupied primarily by women, although the faculty had a predictable minority of wholesome-looking young men. And during disaster drill the impregnability of teachers was reaffirmed in the contemporary setting by the fact that as kneeling pupils huddled obediently against walls in the structurally stronger traditional areas of the building (the pod is deemed to be relatively dangerous as a shelter area because of the lack of internal supporting structures and the possibility of flying glass) teachers remained standing, unbowed and unafraid.

Indeed, the context of the pod gives false clues concerning its apparent adaptability. It creates an impression which diverts the observer's attention from the almost impossible task of observing and assessing the instructional program, leading him to *assume* change and flexibility about aspects which he cannot observe because of changes he is sure he does see.

Let me illustrate with what I hope is a telling example of this phenomenon. Upon the great green carpet covering the floor of the pod area was a labyrinth of furniture—thousands of dollars worth

of it. As one would expect, there were desks and chairs for all pupils and teachers, the placement of teacher furniture as revealing of the internal dynamics of the adult complement of each unit as the placement of pupil furniture was mute about the dynamics of pupil interaction. There were innumerable extra tables and chairs for independent work. More important, the walls were free from many fittings other than chalkboards and electrical outlets.

Most instructional materials for the school were located in the pod area and housed in lightweight, movable cabinets on casters, creating an impression that everything could be moved wherever needed "in a jiffy." In fact, however, the heavily loaded furniture was anything but mobile, particularly on a carpeted floor. That the furniture *was* frequently moved was a measure of the physical effort teachers were willing to invest to enlist the support of spatial arrangement in their instructional program. What one sensed, however, was not the anchored reality of the furniture but an air of adaptability and accommodation.

On closer look, one found that there was even less flexibility than the equipment itself seemed to suggest; personal preferences and classroom traditions carry a ballast of their own. Taller cabinets had been consciously placed between many teaching stations to serve effectively as walls. Areas where "mainstream" children received special instruction were conspicuously "walled in" with taller cabinets.[5] One observed also that, although the small instructional group is theoretically the building block of the multi-unit concept, the predominant mode governing the size of a single group of pupils that has evolved at POD School bears remarkable resemblance to the traditional classroom roll of "about 30." This seems a "natural" number of pupils to elementary school teachers, a figure used to determine homeroom capacity and one that apparently provides a comparative basis for assessing whether one is instructing a large (more than 30) or small (less than 30) group.

A final comment for obtaining a perspective on a staff differentiated, multi-unit school: comparability among units. I have

[5] These observations are not implied criticisms. "Mainstream" children, for example, may be particularly susceptible to the distractions of the pod area. The only implication is that such behaviors have meaning. It is likely that teachers far prefer to put up their own walls rather than have contractors do it. The observation does suggest that teachers still find walls useful. The social scientist cannot help but wonder about the varying conditions under which teachers find walls, whether actual or symbolic, to be essential, optional, or unnecessary, in terms of both the social setting of the school and personality differences between individual teachers or between units.

become aware of my inclination to refer to the one or two units effectively moving in the direction of a unitized program as *typical* rather than as *exceptional* because they exemplified the ideal that the school was seeking to achieve. The unit relegated to the self-contained classrooms labored under the double handicap of spatial limitations and the problem of attempting to coordinate the activities of two groups of half-day kindergarten with all-day pupils in the first two grades. Those unit teachers displayed remarkable *esprit de corps* and seemed to perceive their handicaps as a unique challenge.

Nevertheless, their program hardly epitomized an open space school. Adults assigned to the least successful unit had failed to achieve a satisfactory solidarity in terms of their own expectations. They were in a holding operation, seemingly confident that unresolved personal differences had not seriously affected the quality of their instructional program, but patiently awaiting the start of a new school year and a reorganization of personnel before investing more effort to achieve a genuine collective.

Observers who have visited in multi-unit schools suggest that the variation among units *at the same school* is often greater than the variation noted from school to school. While entrepreneurs may dote on an entire school as the alleged focus of their attention, researchers and evaluators may want to pay close attention to individual units within a school and to the interaction patterns among individuals within each unit. It would be interesting to examine cases in which the addition of even one "wrong" teacher or the loss of one "right" teacher made a major difference in the overall effectiveness of a unit from one year to the next, or to identify other critical features contributing to apparent variations in both personality and élan from unit to unit.

Problems

I capitalized upon every opportunity to ask staff members at POD about problems past, present, and future. I also assumed that there might well be other problems or potential problems in addition to those easily volunteered. This section draws upon both insider knowledge and outsider perspective for its sources.

Human relations. In predictable teacher fashion, and true of every elementary school teacher or administrator I have ever talked to about *any* reorganization of teaching personnel requiring adults to work with peers as well as pupils, teachers at POD identified "working together" or "human relations" as *the big problem*. As

one unit leader said, referring obliquely to interpersonal stress among the teachers within his unit, "Putting humans together in one group over a long time is a real challenge." A critical personnel problem at POD was summarized succinctly: "One teacher didn't work out."[6]

"Human relations" is, in my opinion, too comprehensive a label to be helpful as an analytical problem category. After all, "human relations" is blamed for marital stress, union-management conflict, the generation gap, and interpersonal violence. We need to identify with far greater precision a specific subset of interpersonal problems related *directly* to staff differentiated activities.

Scheduling. Any team arrangement requires coordination. To move a pod full of children and adults through the mazeways of their individual daily schedules demands coordination of a degree that finds staff members in some units meeting to review their schedules every day. Resources, people, and resource-people need to be meshed into the daily schedule without interfering with the bus schedule, recess schedule, lunch schedule, and unexpected demands on space, equipment, or personnel. ("Our unit just *has to* practice the play one more time this afternoon before we put it on, but I see that your unit is scheduled for the multi-use room all this week. Do you think that possibly we could . . . ?") With varying degrees of success, teachers have always had to "juggle" schedules. At POD, however, individual activities are interrelated in a web-like matrix—to move any single strand is to tug in various ways at the whole unit network.

One group of students working with a teacher, student teacher, or aide cannot finish their work and move to a new station unless some other group, and most likely all other groups, are also ready to change. The effective "transition" from one subject to the next that once so delighted elementary school supervisors has become a major scramble, a regularly recurring event throughout every school day of a magnitude that would give an air traffic controller perpetual nightmares. Although such problems are recurring, they

[6] Philip Jackson once pointed out, in an unpublished paper entitled "The Natural Language of Teachers," that if teachers were not able to reduce the great diversity they confront by identifying a few such broad categories for sorting their problems ("broken home" and "culturally deprived" have been favorite categories for sorting pupil learning problems), they would probably be rendered helpless in the face of the complexities they actually confront. "Human relations" appears to be a convenient and comprehensive label for referring to any and all staff interaction, both good and bad.

are essentially mechanical. They can be resolved, but the resolution requires the sort of regimentation that flies squarely in the face of the autonomy coveted by many classroom teachers. Now every instructor must be on hand to fulfill his part of the schedule and may also be called on to "cover" for someone else.

Critics worry that individual children get lost in the shuffle, both literally and figuratively. POD teachers mentioned that children new to the school were usually "dazzled" by the merry-go-round effect. Teachers in one primary unit had found that giving pupils color-coded tickets matching their assigned teaching stations was far more efficient than reading a long list of names prior to every reassignment.

The formula for success at POD seemed to be that every child had a clearly specified place where he was expected to be at any particular moment. "Wandering about" was a signal of something amiss. The IMC was off limits as a place to be when one had nothing to do. In a week of observing I identified only one instance of seemingly aimless roaming. A boy of about seven wandered into the IMC and headed for an empty table. By the time he was seated an aide was sitting next to him inquiring where he was supposed to be. She gently but firmly directed him back to his unit. I gathered that there was a minority opinion among the faculty that POD did not have to be quite so tightly structured, but that the principal (among others) preferred underwriting the program with attention to order. Some schools that have flirted with the organizational overhaul required in differential staffing have subsequently rejected it because the system broke down when children repeatedly failed to arrive at assigned stations.

District-wide consultants responsible to several schools provided another source of constraint contributing to the rigidity of scheduling. One subtle way of handling consultants appeared to be evolving at POD: to schedule their *availability* to confer—if and when unit teachers wanted special help—rather than to utilize them as demonstration teachers. A music teacher who worked in several schools admitted his personal frustration in attempting to schedule special instruction periods for pupils at POD. He also noted, however, that children in "more conventional" schools were eager to get out of their regular classrooms, while children at multi-unit schools seemed reluctant to absent themselves from the ongoing program.

Movement outside of the unit area to the activity room, the gymnasium, or the multi-use room, or sending children to another unit for instruction ("cross-podding"), requires a coordination in

scheduling that unit leaders at POD are just beginning to appreciate. And coordinating the resources of the IMC represents a critical point, since the whole basis of the individually guided education (IGE) program toward which Wisconsin's multi-unit schools aspire rests on a wealth of instructional resources.

The dilemma of status. The status of each individual unit was a source of ambiguity, a sort of not-fully-recognized but unresolved and unprecedented problem. Teachers were uncertain of the proper locus of their loyalty. One dimension of this problem is that, in the same way that some teams never really solidify and become effective interacting groups, others may become too successful, achieving an exclusiveness and an in-group camaraderie potentially disruptive to the cohesiveness of the faculty as a whole.

This problem had not materialized at POD, but correlates of it were being discussed. That units can become "clannish" was suggested to me by persons familiar with schools where the staff differentiated multi-unit concept has been in effect long enough for the possibility to become a reality. Comparisons between units were inevitable, and comparison in the performance-conscious atmosphere of a school lends itself quickly to ranking or at least to identifying "the best" among units. A related matter which seemed premature but was already being aired was the possibility that an individual might remain in the same unit assignment for too long. Should teachers be periodically reassigned within a school?

There was also a recognition that both formal and informal communications were tending to solidify along vertical lines of authority. Teachers within each unit interacted almost exclusively with other unit personnel. Through their unit leader, teams knew what was occurring in the building's Instructional Improvement Committee (IIC), a committee consisting of the principal and the unit leaders. In general, teachers had little opportunity to interact with personnel in other units. This was recognized as a shortcoming of the first year's program, and subsequent efforts had been made to increase interaction between units. Cross-podding represented one way. Another was the establishment of a number of committees in specific curriculum areas [7] (for example, reading, arithmetic) comprised of a teacher representative from each unit.

[7] The fact that three of the four unit leaders had appointed themselves to the Reading Committee suggests that reading has not lost its place as the critical subject of instruction in the elementary school. See also: Harry F. Wolcott. *The Ideal World and the Real World of Reading: An Anthropological Perspective.* ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading, ED 060 393, 1972.

As a result of these committees, teachers felt that interaction between units had been far better the second year.

Redistribution of power. The introduction of the instructional unit or team as a new organizational dimension has added another echelon into the already status-conscious ranks of the schoolman, that of the unit leader. Although other observers discuss the need for a new *division of labor* as the central problem of reorganization, my own persuasion is that *redistribution of power* is the critical issue. In some cases this redistribution appears to require a relinquishing of power in one dimension without a corresponding gain in another.

My experience with elementary school teachers is that *who does what particular task* is of less concern to teacher status than the question of who has the authority to make such a decision for someone else. Teachers in elementary schools have always taught, or tried to teach, all subjects. Although there are personal affinities for particular subjects, and there is some extent of agreement in identifying critical vs. tangential skills (for example, learning to read vs. learning to use poster paints), the commitment to the "whole child" has not promulgated the hierarchy of subjects rampant at other levels of formal education. Stress under differentiated staffing comes not from the allocation of teaching assignments but from the issue of who has the authority to make such assignments for others.

A teacher in a teaching team gives up individual ownership and control over many domains that were once exclusively his. Whether unit membership provides compensatory rewards appears a matter of individual interpretation. Perhaps this is why the principal at POD was interested in recruiting heavily among beginning teachers to staff his new school, while other principals facing the same problem might express concern in having to work with inexperienced (or even "immature") staff. As the principal explained (in an ideological statement that exceeds some of the realities of the situation), "When a teacher comes to a multi-unit school like this, all the customary pronouns have to change. It's no longer 'my desk,' 'my children,' or 'my class.' "

I am not sure that teachers actually give up their proprietary interests in desks, children, or "a class," but they do give up virtually all privacy concerning their time at school, their independence in making curricular decisions, and secrets about their teaching strengths or weaknesses. Even individual recognition is liable to be

forfeited—although perhaps that is a test of loyalty that can remain an unnecessary luxury. More, rather than less, individual recognition might have been a good antidote for some of the stress noted among staff members at POD.

One compensation for these losses is found in a new kind of teacher power: the opportunity to share in important decisions about the instructional program for a large group of pupils and teachers. During my visit I observed decisions being made or discussed on matters that I have never before seen referred to *all* classroom teachers in a school. I heard more discussion relating *directly* to matters of classroom instruction in teacher meetings than I recall having heard elsewhere. The meetings had an added cost of their own—they usurped almost every moment both before and after school.

Reviewing the pros and cons of their new arrangement, teachers referred to their constant involvement and invariably commented, "It's more work." Individual teaching preparations were completed by some at home, and I was told that one might typically see two or three cars at POD every weekend as other teachers worked on classroom preparations.

Compensations also included virtually continuous opportunities for working out instructional problems with peers as opposed to the instructional isolation experienced by the typical classroom teacher. Add to this the potential satisfaction from a greater variety of topics, pupils, and assignments and you find a program which more than repays the time investment required, at least for many teachers. Yet these benefits do not entail all of the power nor compensate totally for all of the autonomy of a teacher in the self-contained classroom. The appointment of one individual as a unit leader sets in motion an uneasy adjustment between the delegation of authority by the formal hierarchy (the principal at POD firmly believes that unit leaders should be appointed by the administration rather than elected by unit teachers), the assumption of authority by the unit leader, and the recognition of that authority by the other unit teachers.

A distinction between "managing" and "leading" human beings, such as is made by anthropologist A. F. C. Wallace, seems useful in this regard: "A manager, as his title suggests, is a person who manages other human beings (that is, he tells them what to do) and makes his living at it. . . . A manager is distinct from a leader: the manager's word is backed by force; the leader's by the

willingness of persons to follow." [8] The fact that one unit leader could not get all teachers to arrive on time for an announced meeting held before school, while other units could meet at that same time *every* day on what appeared to be a voluntary basis, suggests that the head of the unit is a manager whose force (power) is only gradually being defined, even at the unit level. One can probably assume that genuine "leaders" will remain in critically short supply in DS schools just as they are in other levels and types of administrative structure.

Whether he functions as a true leader or a manager, the designation of a new occupational status in the ranks of schoolmen has introduced other variables as well. One is a new route for both vertical and geographical dimensions of occupational mobility. POD has already seen "experienced" staff members recruited away, one of them in a jump from the school faculty to a university-level appointment. Unit leaders have opportunities to attend meetings away from school and to meet people in positions of occupational importance. A young unit leader recounted the experience of whispering an innocuous comment to an unknown cohort at his side during a meeting and subsequently learning, much to his amazement, that his confidant was a school superintendent.

During my five-day visit, the principal and one unit leader spent an entire day attending a meeting at a distant university. Their subsequent report of the meeting suggested that the negative stereotype of in-service meetings has not yet been overcome; apparently the idea of individually guided education is not yet recognized as a possibility for teachers as well as for pupils. If attending meetings or meeting influential people is of itself not necessarily an enviable pastime, the fact that it also means "released" or "free" time from teaching responsibilities is clearly recognized. Somehow status in the public schools has always been inversely related to the amount of actual classroom teaching one does.

The trend toward more released time for unit leaders will be fascinating to watch. It may well produce anxiety for principals as the enactment of their never very well defined role is further complicated by the presence of a group of teacher-administrators who maintain enough proximity to the realities of classroom instruc-

[8] A. F. C. Wallace. *Housing and Social Structure*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Housing Authority, 1952. p. 112. For an anthropological view on administrative processes, see: A. F. C. Wallace. *Administrative Forms of Social Organization*. Module 9. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Modular Publications, 1971.

tion to be able to affect its practice.[9] I must report, however, that POD's principal does not in any way feel that his position is jeopardized by the new organizational pattern. Nor should he, for many close to the school insist that if any one person can be credited with its success, it is surely he. Yet he does believe that a principal's job in a functioning multi-unit school is different from the relatively pure administrative position of the "old days," more perhaps like an adviser and social psychologist. It is also true that working through his Instructional Improvement Committee (IIC) he can guide, cajole, and press for curricular or instructional changes, whereas such behavior on the part of the principal under the more traditional arrangement is far more likely to be perceived as dissatisfaction with individual teachers rather than as instructional leadership.

Decision making. If I have not sufficiently emphasized the kinds of decisions teachers *are* making at POD, let me now do so. Teachers feel that they have a say in important decisions regarding the selection of instructional materials—for example, selecting among alternative packaged programs in reading and arithmetic. They feel more freedom in selecting topics for instruction, especially in presenting brief mini-courses pursuing subjects of special interest. From among options presented to them in catalogs and lists of materials, or from ideas borrowed from other schools, they also make decisions on teaching resources. In the absence of commercially produced materials complementary to their unit programs, they have also developed materials of their own, particularly in individualized reading and math kits, math "contracts," and accountability devices for advanced pupils in the upper grades.

The greatest change in the locus of decision making has been in staffing. In only a tiny minority of elementary schools across the nation are final staffing decisions left to building principals, and in far fewer schools are teachers involved in any way in such decisions. When teaching positions occur at POD, however, the teachers within a particular unit develop a "profile" describing the kind of person and type of competencies they seek to complement existing personalities and talents within the team.

Based on limited opportunity for observing, I would hazard that the three most important priorities for teacher selection can be

[9] For a case study illustrating the dilemmas of the elementary school principal, see: Harry F. Wolcott. *The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973.

arranged in this order: sex, age, and special capability in some enrichment area (music, art). The first and third of these criteria represent long traditions in elementary schools. The male minority has always been nurtured, and remains a minority. The value of special artistic talent goes with the (unstated) assumption that anyone who has completed a teacher training program can teach the basics, and thus applicants are screened on the basis of special and relevant *additional* talent they have that sets them apart from other candidates.

Age is somewhat a newcomer as a criterion, reflecting a belief at POD that the *less* experience one has had in other types of schools, the better. There is a dramatic shift from traditional hiring preferences for teachers with "some" experience. (Too much experience often has its own drawback, at least in hiring from out-of-district—experienced teachers usually cost more.) A fourth criterion has entered into staffing considerations or at least has finally been acknowledged: personality. Teachers at POD are keenly interested in whether potential colleagues will "fit in" among the members of the particular unit.

Final authority for interviewing and hiring teachers rests with the principal, but it has been his practice to invite unit leaders to participate in interviews with candidates for their units and to render their assessment of them, especially in appraising potential congeniality. Offhand I can think of few other employee work groups whose opinions on staffing are solicited to this extent, and it represents a significant change in teacher hiring in public education.

Now, to flip the coin, let us review the broad spectrum of people who *also* make decisions that affect schools and thus confound and compound the complexity of educational decision making. As students of public education know, the list is practically endless, running a gamut from the National Association of Manufacturers to a retired couple down the street to whom any failure of a school budget election is invariably attributed. POD is in a district and state where financial control can be tied to city budgets. I was told that representation among the City Fathers reflected the national trend of the early 1970's toward conservatism, a term generally taken to indicate reluctance toward increasing the rate of school spending. As a consequence, the physical plant at POD probably bears far more similarity to the local armory than to the Taj Mahal, the bleak plastic furnishings of its staff lounge bordering on an indictment of local penuriousness.

Research inquiry into the question of how successful DS implementations are initiated reveals that neither teachers nor principals necessarily have much say in the original decision. Although the transition of older schools in the community where POD is located reportedly was proceeding only as principals and teachers indicated their interest in adopting the multi-unit approach, I recorded telling comments that trace the genesis of the idea directly to the local superintendent of schools: "The Superintendent made this commitment long ago. He has been quoted as saying, 'Our goal is to bring the multi-unit concept and individually guided education to *all* our elementary schools.' "

And of the host of others whose decisions affect POD School? Program developers press in on ever-present shortcomings in the curriculum, pointing accusing fingers at existing materials and immodestly displaying their own bright new packages. The university operates on an independent calendar and decides how many intern or student teachers it will "allocate" to a school organized in such a way that it not only can easily accommodate apprentices but is dependent upon their help. Architects associated with a firm headquartered in Chicago designed a building that teachers now enter and leave via the janitor's storeroom, the only convenient exit to their automobiles. The same architects effectively isolated the principal behind a mazeway of halls and walls that suggest anything but an "open concept." A planner's decisions for zoning overhead lights in the pod area created new structural impediments in place of old ones—a teacher turning off lights in order to use a projector in one teaching station often turns off the lights for the adjacent station(s) as well.

Guardians of the state's building code insisted that electrical outlets be placed above floor level, creating a hazard in the center of the floor. Because of this hazard few outlets were installed—a ridiculous handicap for a well-gadgeted IMC. And at the end of a long teacher day, a janitor's decision about when to begin vacuuming in the pod area may signal a last straw for teachers trying to meet or work after school, even though an obvious attempt is made to prevent vacuuming from being a disruption. Teacher decision making? Teachers at POD would insist they've got it.

Vulnerability. Another problem relating to the context of the public school setting is one of vulnerability. This problem is by no means unique to POD. New programs or old, traditional or progressive, schools have always served as public whipping boys. As

an observer pointed out years ago, schools are ideally suited for this role since they are available everywhere, they are relatively defenseless, and they can always be found guilty of something. But POD has some unique vulnerabilities along with those shared by all schools.

Early and concerted local resistance might have thwarted an experimental program and building before the construction of POD School was even under way. Good public relations, slow and careful progress, a school system and superintendent long recognized for pioneering worthwhile programs, a favorable climate of opinion, and recognition and endorsement by outside agencies all contributed to a successful beginning. Nevertheless, POD School is beginning to feel a hum of protest aimed specifically in its direction. Any time the principal feels complacent about promoting the virtues of an educational approach to which he has been personally committed for years, he reaches into a file and rereads an article written in the following vein that appeared in the trade journal of a local and powerful union:

> The biggest problem we now have in our school system is the so-called POD method of education. That is, if you want to call it an education.

Would the supposedly anonymous journalist have contrasted the "POD method of education" with the "egg-crate method" more familiar to him? POD will have to prove itself by the impossible test against which all educational innovations are measured. POD's advocates may be called on to demonstrate that nothing valued in the old program has been forfeited and at the same time to assure that under the new organization more can be accomplished than has ever been accomplished to date. One current and specific form of this dilemma was the problem created by the fact that POD pupils made a less than average showing on their performance in spelling on a standardized test administered throughout the school system. The decision had already been reached to spend more instructional time on spelling. It is my understanding of research on spelling that one cannot defend spending more than a few minutes a day on learning formal spelling lists. But the reaction—or overreaction—of teachers to the implied criticism of standardized test results is a typical response whenever educators identify a new area of potential vulnerability.

The program is also vulnerable to various kinds of intellectual and psychological erosion. The high energy and commitment of the

staff and principal are partially eroded by an incessant stream of visitors, observers, and evaluators. At the time of my observation the number of official visitors received during the year exceeded the number of pupils enrolled by an even one hundred. As I was saying my farewells on Friday at noon (along with another independent observer who had also spent the *entire week* there), an announcement came over the intercom in the teachers room informing the principal that a new group of expected visitors had just arrived. "Oh, well, we won't *always* be the newest school," observed the principal philosophically.

Another eroding force is that personnel at POD feel they have reached the point where the school is called on to "give much more than it receives." Members of the staff have come to realize that henceforth they will have to be self-generating in resolving their problems or developing new programs. The entrepreneurs of change were out making new converts—but the aftermath of their hard sell was that recent converts were recruited to join in furthering the evangelical effort rather than to come fully to grips with the meaning of their decision at home. "We don't seem to get anything from the university or the Research and Development Center any more," the principal observed. "Our only real source of help and ideas is from people at schools that have reached the same level of implementation that we have."

The fact that POD has never been vandalized was taken as an indication of community support and that pupils were satisfied and supportive of their school. Similar reports linked the existence of a multi-unit approach with the absence of vandalism in older schools in less advantaged surroundings. Yet here, as in so many ways, vulnerability is cumulative. One wonders what effect a few broken windows will have when that apparently inevitable event occurs. Will it signal a major blow to optimism?

Virtually every event occurring at any school, and particularly a community-conscious school like POD, has some public relations dimensions. Many decisions are accompanied by the nagging condition of life in public office, being damned if you do and damned if you don't. Consider the surprisingly complex issue of calling substitutes for teachers absent from a DS school. One does not step easily into an instructional role in such a program. Thus principals are reluctant to hire substitutes when unit personnel themselves can more adequately cover for a missing colleague, at least for a brief absence. Yet as a public relations problem, what message is relayed if parents and taxpayers interpret this as a sign that units are

actually overstaffed and could "get by" with fewer teachers? Such questions plague principals. POD's principal believed that a substitute should be called for any teacher expected to be absent more than two days; some of his colleagues thought that 10 days was more realistic. The lack of any completely satisfactory resolution of the issue or of a way to explain individual policies had added an unexpected increment toward administrative ambivalence.

Teachers themselves observe certain practices and are subjected to still others which, however inadvertently, contribute to the vulnerability of new programs by promising greater benefits than can realistically be expected; at the same time, the "old ways" are so thoroughly rejected that there is no way back. For example, consider the "promise" of DS suggested by these glowing words extracted from a publisher's flyer announcing a new book on the topic:

> Differentiated staffing provides the teacher with a whole new career in the classroom—a career with the status, prestige, and monetary rewards nonexistent in traditional educational organization patterns.

To use a favorite but worn metaphor, teachers are forever on the brink of throwing out the baby with the bathwater, the "baby" in this case representing the useful, practical, dearly gained lessons which constitute the "knowledge base" of professional education. Enthusiastic members of the staff at POD are already convinced that, having finally freed themselves from the constraints of a traditionally organized school, they will never "go back" to a pre-POD form of organization. Yet I wonder if they recognize the extent to which they have perpetuated elements of what they so thoroughly denounce of those "traditional," "self-contained," "egg-crate," "one teacher with 30 children," "three-group," "lockstep ability grouping," "children sitting there doing nothing and bored to tears," "teacher active–pupil passive" ideas.

When I first started attending school almost four decades ago, some children came to school early and some stayed later in the afternoon so the teacher could instruct smaller groups in the school-sacred act of learning to read. When I taught elementary school almost two decades ago, I constantly exchanged ideas with other teachers in the same grade and in the school. My beloved friend Anna Kohner, teaching in the adjacent classroom, often exchanged pupils with me; and we frequently combined classes, facilitated by the unusual good luck that a door had been constructed between our rooms.

We followed a program of individualized project reading under the inspired leadership of a born educator named Eleanor Crouch, who kept reminding me that my pupils had lots they wanted to learn if I would just get out of their way and stop trying so hard to teach them.

One decade ago, as I confronted a one-room school of Indian pupils in a tiny Canadian village, I had to develop some sort of individually guided program because there was no other way to handle a group so disparate in age, ability, and previous success in school; yet I am hardly renowned as the originator of the multi-level classroom. I wish any of the pupils I have ever taught could have attended POD—I think the teachers there bring more skills and draw upon a far more splendid array of materials than I offered. At the same time, I wish POD teachers could see how we "used to larn 'em in the old days" and could also get a bird's eye view of themselves. They might be surprised to realize how egg-crated their own not-so-casual seating arrangements and interaction patterns would appear in infrared exposure.

Paradoxes. The business of teaching is filled with paradoxes. One of them is that the more successful you are at it, the more difficult it becomes. A facet of instruction in which I felt teachers at POD were making exceptional headway was in the diagnosis of learning problems and the identification of teachable steps or components in the process of schooling. Teachers have not heretofore been particularly good diagnosticians, and we have accepted the assumption that diagnosis might provide a critical key to improving instruction. Teachers at POD are discovering otherwise, and they have stumbled upon a new problem that may be but the first of many related ones.

Diagnosis can lead to proper assignment for instruction. Yet what if instruction doesn't "take"? Is a child (or teacher) to be doomed forever to overcoming one carefully diagnosed handicap before he can advance to another? If not, what kind of record-keeping and progression can distinguish between mere exposure and a successful educational "take"? When does one reach the point of diminishing returns for sustained instruction in a specific skill?

As teachers get better, their problems of instruction will become more complex. After all, a few years ago medical science had no problems with human bodies rejecting organ transplants; there simply were no transplants.

Predictions

Let me begin with a prediction about POD School itself, one that may bring some despair. I predict that at about the time I visited it, POD had run the course of the short and energetic "half-life" of an educational innovation. The school may well continue to be good or even superior, but its ability to develop new programs or to attract attention through unique new accomplishments—rather than receiving recognition for the maintenance of already existing programs—may decelerate rapidly. I suspect that two years is about the maximum half-life of even the most successful of educational innovations at a particular site. Their vitality and impact may extend over many years, but they never again achieve quite the intensity of that enthusiastic initial burst.

When the staff for the new POD School was recruited, a *long-term commitment* was among the criteria of selection. There was no large "teacher turnover" at the end of the first year. Reportedly one senior teacher was unable to retool for the collective new effort involved. She opted to retire early and thus created no issue for which patience alone was not sufficient antidote. Two people were recruited out of that first-year staff because of the shortage of teachers experienced with multi-unit schools elsewhere in the school system. But the total effect of staff change was small. Careful attention was given to securing replacements, especially to recruiting compatible and talented beginners from among the parade of student teachers.

The completion of another year precipitated far more staff changes. The fact that a totally new staff had been recruited probably helped sustain the intense half-life at POD; but, after two years, commitments to POD ran a gamut from several cases of infectious enthusiasm to a teacher who had decided to leave because of a "bad back." The fact that the predominantly young faculty included several unmarried teachers was also offered as a contributing factor to impending change. Remaining staff members suddenly realized that a major effort would be needed at the beginning of the third year to incorporate new staff members into the existing program, and that correspondingly less time and effort would be available for developing new programs.

As to predictions regarding the interaction between DS and the course of public education, a number of possibilities spring to mind.

Student teaching. If schools continue to adopt multi-unit or

other alternate forms of staffing, and if at the same time the collision experienced in the early 1970's between teacher education programs and teacher placement possibilities effectively alters the course of the training programs—just at a time when the schools have found a form of organization that not only welcomes but depends on trainees—I predict that the required length of service in student teaching will be increased to provide two or three times as long a period of apprenticeship for each individual. Teacher aides cost money, student teachers do not. Tension is mounting over the problem of whether persons of paraprofessional status ought to offer instruction and whether teacher's work deserves teacher's pay. This is not an issue affecting student teachers. They have always been defined simultaneously as fully responsible professionals and as uninitiated observers, in whatever ratio pragmatic educational administrators have seen fit.

An incidental side effect on teacher training could be that schools with DS programs will train a proportion of student teachers greater than the ratio of DS schools. This possibility might lead either to a more rapid transition to multi-unit schools or to the need for an early commitment by student teachers formally to declare themselves one way or the other, "DS" or "self-contained." Perhaps teacher trainees will be required to serve an apprenticeship in *each* type of school in which they expect to be candidates for employment.

Costs. A closely related issue is that of the continually spiraling costs in public education, the growing concern about these costs, and the specter that open-space schooling may gain adherents from some quarters solely on the basis that fewer high-priced teachers are required for a given number of pupils. Schoolmen are anxious to see that the program is *not* rationalized to the public on the basis of its potential economies, yet they have not wanted to ignore those economies altogether in presenting their case. The POD principal had noted in an end-of-school report to the central office:

> In our eagerness to sell this program to the public and the school board in the past, we have tended to overemphasize the economy aspects of the program. There are some, to be sure, but there are also some additional costs which in part set off some of the savings. It is my opinion that we should not ask to, or attempt to, operate in a multi-unit IGE program at a lower per pupil cost than a traditional program. If we operate at the same per pupil cost, we can attempt to do more for children per dollar spent.

It would be ironic but not altogether unlikely that economies in DS will garner public support but threaten the very elements that have made the program successful.

Unit leaders. I predict that the new position of unit leader (or "curriculum associate") will become firmly entrenched in the organization of the elementary school, not as a position essential in every school but one regarded as a highly desirable option widely employed in the "better" school systems. It will serve upwardly mobile young males as a stepping stone to administration, and will prove attractive to a number of women teachers who find in the position added challenge, satisfaction, and recognition *in teaching* without demanding the ambitious leap out of the classroom into full-time administration.[10]

Yet if the apportionment of unit leaders at POD between males and females (2 females, 2 males) is somewhat typical of elementary schools generally, it is interesting to note the compromise reflected in that ratio between the ranks of elementary school teachers, filled about 85 percent by women, and the ranks of elementary school principals, filled about 80 percent by men. It will be fascinating to see how the male-female ratio among unit leaders stabilizes. I would anticipate that males will occupy slightly more than half the positions. The critical sex-ratio assignments will be among unit leaders for the "middle" years in the elementary school, grades three and four. Existing tradition already provides guidelines for selecting unit leaders for groups containing the youngest and oldest pupils.

Questions of released time from teaching responsibilities and of salary differentials between teachers and unit leaders will become touchy issues. It will also be interesting to see who takes an entrepreneurial interest in the new role. Will associations established exclusively by and for unit leaders evolve? Will state departments of education attempt to establish minimum (and thus maximum) standards in terms of credits and experience for the unit leader position? How soon will professors in schools of education begin advertising their expertise in these new domains and become available for consulting, teaching classes, and offering workshops?

Instructional materials. If unit leaders and teachers are going

[10] John Meyer, Elizabeth Cohen, *et al. The Impact of the Open-Space School upon Teacher Influence and Autonomy: The Effects of an Organizational Innovation.* Technical Report No. 21. Stanford, California: Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1971. p. 128.

to make decisions on text and instructional materials purchases, I would anticipate a major shift in advertising and in the promotional tactics of the producers of instructional packages. At one time the phrase "commercial interests" was apt, but it must be recognized today that R & D Centers, Regional Educational Laboratories, and universities are all serious competitors in these markets, usually working from the advantaged position of subsidized research and an image of working only in the public interest, with no mention of personal careers or public acclaim.

New materials will have to be convincing to classroom teachers and will have to be marketed on a school rather than a district basis. Economies of systemwide adoption will be foregone, and promotional and servicing costs may increase with small purchase orders. Yet I saw evidence that what is purchased is used and that teachers spend their budgets with care. The POD principal made a relevant observation about the use of materials: although he had heard complaints about having too little on hand, he never recalled hearing *anyone* complain about the materials actually available in the IMC. After all, the teachers themselves had made the selections.

Teacher use of educational research. I predict a renewed interest on the part of classroom teachers in looking at research pertaining to curriculum and instruction, evaluation, and, especially, diagnosis. During the weekly Instructional Improvement Committee (IIC) meeting, one item of discussion was the adoption of a commercial spelling series for the school as part of the already agreed-upon need to improve spelling performance measured by standard achievement tests. Criteria for selection included practical teacher considerations such as the type and amount of independent work required and whether each series lent itself to individual pupil progress.

I will admit to personal dismay as I realized that the teachers did not seem to have adequate information for making a more informed choice. They did not have ready access to current research into the teaching of spelling or, as an alternative, to sources of independent judgments about the different series and programs under consideration, judgments made by responsible scholars whose professional interest in the subject extends over years rather than to only a few minutes sandwiched into a Thursday afternoon meeting. Reportedly they had access to the work of district-wide task forces which have examined curriculum materials, but I heard no mention of this source. What the teachers needed was a sort of

specialized *Consumer's Guide to Educational Materials*, a reliable source for examining the expendability and availability of materials under consideration. They needed to be able to examine specific materials in terms of research *findings* and research *issues*, the latter to include critical unresolved problems on which classroom teachers themselves could become contributing partners in research.

The possibility that the bond between educational research and teacher practice will be strengthened is not my prediction. Optimistically I wish it could be; realistically I predict instead that unless the first few forays into the esoteric journals which report or review research are successful, teacher judgments will probably become increasingly *independent* of research. They will be based on intuitive responses to packaging, price, and practical concerns for classroom realities invariably neglected by persons not actively engaged in instructing children. But there is a moment that could be captured here, as teachers in POD and similarly reorganized schools convene to make selections that in the past have been made entirely in school district central offices, county offices of education, and state departments of public instruction. Are the educational "clearinghouses" really ready and willing to serve the masses of a teacher clientele?

Accountability. POD School is coming of age in an era when increasing attention is being given to the concept of *accountability* in education, with emphasis on the identification of specific learning objectives, information on the extent to which pupils achieve them, and the relative cost of these accomplishments via one program or another. Accountability could prove to be either a major counterforce or a splendid ally of efforts to reorganize personnel and/or space in schools. My hope for the latter possibility must be offered without conviction of its likelihood. The power, prestige, resources, and scientific aura surrounding plans for massive testing programs are likely to overpower modest (and perhaps even relevant) local-level efforts at pupil assessment and the setting of instructional objectives.

Consider, as a case in point, the intent of teachers at POD to focus their attention on a comprehensive program in Language Arts. The results of a nationally recognized test got to them before their program was underway, and, as a consequence, were isolated from program development rather than integrated into it. The principal's summary of the problem included his schoolman's disdain for the "dehumanizing" effect of overemphasis on formal testing:

We're starting to turn more to using standardized tests to tell us about kids. That means we'll be ignoring the affective domain and what we are trying to accomplish in the IGE schools. I really hate to see it coming, but more and more we are going to have to account.

Guidelines and indicators of success. Let me conclude by turning from such broad predictions about the possible effects of the differentiated staffing movement and offer some brief guidelines and indicators of success in implementing the spirit of multi-unit schools or other alternative forms of staff reorganization.[11]

Another observer visiting POD School while I was there, Gavin Strand, described the best single criterion which he has found in his studies of open-space schools for predicting genuine interest and commitment to staffing change: willingness on the part of both administrators and teachers to add noncertified personnel, specifically teacher aides, to an instructional team.[12] Strand felt that neither the actual number of additional personnel assigned nor the way that they were deployed within the unit seemed critical, but where no assignment of new personnel is made, essential structural changes are neither required nor achieved within the unit. It is certainly true that adding new roles in the educational organization effects both stress and change.[13] The four units at POD deployed auxiliary personnel in different ways consistent with teacher activities and pupil capabilities. Aides working with younger children reported spending more time assisting with small group instruction; aides for upper grade units reported doing more paperwork and record keeping.

The principal of POD School identified "commitment" as the

[11] I emphasize the "spirit" of implementing an innovation, in keeping with the useful thesis growing out of research into the implementation of DS that successfully implemented examples of that educational innovation tend to be *adapted* rather than *adopted* in each specific case. (See: Charters and Pellegrin, *op. cit.*) A summary of several brief on-site studies of schools that appeared to have successfully implemented the multi-unit idea, including POD School, has been prepared by: John Packard. "Changing to a Multiunit School." In: Charters *et al., op. cit.*

[12] Gavin Strand's extensive observing in multi-unit elementary schools in Wisconsin will be reported in a forthcoming dissertation, "Physical Plant Characteristics and Their Relationship to Instructional Components of IGE Elementary Schools in Wisconsin." In preparation for the Department of Educational Administration, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

[13] See, for example: Robert B. Everhart. "The Career of the Paraprofessional in Four Differentially Staffed Schools." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1972. A brief account of the study also appears in Charters *et al., op. cit.*

critical element for the organizational hierarchy of a school district to contribute to the successful implementation of multi-unit schools. Specifically he noted the need for a firm commitment on the part of the superintendent and school board to "see it through." Reports from successful as well as unsuccessful attempts at implementing DS further suggest an important distinction between the commitment *to make a go of it* versus a laissez faire interest in allowing a school *to have a go at it.*

From his own experience, the principal also offered additional and useful advice. Foremost was his belief in the necessity of providing adequate time for teachers to discuss the possibility of such a program, time to prepare for it, and opportunity to elect to participate or not to participate on a voluntary basis. Staffing a new school specifically designed for unitized teaching was an obvious asset, not only for the fact that the structure of the building complemented the structure of the program, but also because the recruiting process made it possible to recruit teachers selectively. Yet, in the judgment of POD's principal, the oldest and architecturally most traditional school building in the school system had one of the finest multi-unit programs going. What might have been perceived as insurmountable barriers in other schools were merely hurdles for a faculty determined to make a success of an alternative form of staffing. In his own assignment prior to POD, the principal had been nurturing interest in a multi-unit approach among staff members working in a more conventional building. He had estimated that a successful implementation there required a *three-year* period of transition.[14]

His final advice was: take it slow, work on one curricular area at a time, and strive to establish a satisfactory program in that area before going on to develop another aspect of it. At the end of the second year the claims for POD School's accomplishments were modest. Developing an individually guided and multi-unit approach for the reading program had taken most of the first year; now math was included. "In many things we're 'just teaming' " was a phrase I often heard, referring to the fact that teachers were working cooperatively but had not developed the sophisticated multilevel and individualized program they dreamed of. Maybe that was what I found very refreshing: here was a school where the teachers exuded a sense of both accomplishment and direction.

[14] Note the similarity between the principal's caution about allowing adequate time for success and A. John Fiorino's comments on the subject in Chapter 3, "Planning for Success."

I have one final impression to report—one that has not seemed to fit but is too important to ignore. The physical fact of openness in the pod area was accompanied by a psychological feeling of openness and openmindedness evident throughout the school. There were no dark corners, no teachers or pupils hopelessly trapped by walls with only the clock signaling when persons assigned either status would again return to the company of man. Everyone was swamped with tasks and meetings, but no one appeared hopelessly "uptight." Teachers could literally wink away their occasional exasperations with children because they were engrossed in a work world of adult peers, just as children were engrossed in their world of children. I felt that the school was mentally healthy, somehow a refreshing alternative to housing large groups of people over extended periods of time in long corridors flanked by zoo-like cages, all the animals locked in with their respective trainers.

When the classroom walls came down, so did some of the stuffy notions about what kind of children can be in school, or what kind of adults are proper for them to associate with in that hallowed place. The mainstream program meant that handicapped children could attend the same school as their siblings or neighbors, participating with "normal" children as well as receiving special instruction, all relatively "in the open" and more realistically human than the strictures of ability grouping have sometimes permitted. Even more promising was the presence of a variety of nonteacher types: volunteer mothers working in the IMC or selling hot dogs on special lunch days (the school presently has no hot lunch program); teacher aides and paraprofessionals seated with groups of children reading stories or completing assignments. Perhaps someday public schools will even discover ways to incorporate and involve elderly people (as private schools and programs like Foster Grandparents are already doing), and we will have come full circle to rediscover and draw upon the resource of one of the powerful educative influences and bonds in human society, that between the young child and the grandparent generation.

POD's tolerance for diversity was dramatized for me by the presence of a blind student teacher. Schools have already discovered that blind children can participate effectively in regular classes in addition to receiving special help. The young lady to whom I refer was doing her student teaching as a fully participating member of one unit. I imagine that the difficulties arising from the constantly changing physical and human obstacles in the pod area were more than compensated for by a staffing arrangement in which her per-

sonal strengths and handicaps could be fitted among those of the rest of her professional associates. There was a place for her in the pod. And that made life in the pod a little more like life outside it.

6. THE POLEMICAL ASPECTS OF DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING

A. JOHN FIORINO

CONTROVERSY IS the handmaiden of change. Every suggestion that there may be a "better way" is followed by a flurry of charges and countercharges. This pattern was not broken when DS-FIO was proposed as a new method of organizing for instructional purposes. Questions have been raised at the outset, and issues will continue to be debated. Initial reactions to DS-FIO on the part of some educators have indicated the need for greater understanding of the nature and intent of a "flexible instructional organization," FIO.

Some educators might conclude that DS-FIO will create pressure to quantify products or turn schools into a huge, impersonal teaching machine. Others may shrug off DS-FIO as another panacea to be endured for a while. A few may be fearful that concern for *product* might undo the gains which have been made in furthering *process* through interaction studies. Still others may fear a dehumanization of education at a time when great strides are being made in humanizing the schools. It is our position that such matters deserve a hearing and that polemical questions should be openly raised to encourage a useful dialog in exploring the potentials of DS-FIO.

Let us consider some questions and answers in a continuing dialog.

Question: Is DS-FIO a viable concept?

Answer: The position could be taken that few, if any, innovative educational practices are theoretically impossible. Experience has demonstrated that an innovation which at one point in time is discredited may reappear and prove to be viable and successful. An excellent example is the older "core curriculum" concept which was severely criticized years ago. Today interdisciplinary humanities courses are being adopted and are apparently flourishing in school districts across the country. These new programs are actually

"core courses," simply retitled and modernized. Hence, we can hardly argue with the assumption that DS-FIO is a theoretically viable concept.

The question of viability, as posed, probably refers to practice rather than theory. Although the evidence is not all in, the experience of school districts such as Temple City, California, and Sarasota County, Florida, indicates that DS-FIO is possible in practice. In addition to these two school districts, well over 35 federally funded DS-FIO projects plus numerous locally funded experiments are under way around the country. They range from individual school districts, through state projects such as that in Florida, to multi-state experiments such as the one being conducted by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning at the University of Wisconsin. This latter project involves more than 50 elementary schools in seven states—Wisconsin, Ohio, Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, New York, and Pennsylvania. All this activity indicates that up to this point in time DS-FIO appears to be a viable concept in practice. Only time and the ability of future developers will determine if it remains viable.

Question: Can we really reform schools by making organizational changes?

Answer: The obvious answer to this question is no. Organizational change, *per se*, cannot reform the schools; only people can. DS-FIO is based on the premise that no type of organization can improve poor schools, and good schools cannot be improved if their organization inhibits improvement. The traditional organizational staffing patterns are viewed as a major roadblock to reforming the schools. DS-FIO is seen as a means to capitalize on the strengths of teachers and to provide a flexibility which will permit the educational enterprise to meet the needs of the students, staff, and community. Whether or not DS-FIO can reform the schools will depend on the educators who plan and implement it. DS-FIO is merely the vehicle for reform.

In the hands of competent and hard-working educators, DS-FIO can reform the schools, as evidenced by the second generation models being developed in Mesa, Arizona, and Sarasota County, Florida. The second generation models differ from the originals in several ways. First, the staff members are not permanently assigned to a particular level of the hierarchy. Their roles vary depending on the objectives they are attempting to achieve. Second, a modified

form of performance contracting is included by tying the reward system to the achievement of objectives. The teachers are provided opportunities to submit proposals for achieving specified objectives. Third, the developers of the models are attempting to come to terms with the public demands for accountability without making robots of teachers. This is accomplished by involving teachers in selecting objectives and allowing them the freedom to select the best method for achieving the objectives.

Question: Isn't it possible, perhaps likely, that DS-FIO will spell the demise of the public schools? Parents who have been converted to the Free School philosophy will resist even more than they do now the putting of their children into mental straitjackets designed by performance objectives.

Answer: Fortunately or unfortunately, depending on your point of view, a very small percentage of parents have been converted to the Free School philosophy. Therefore, the likelihood of the public schools' becoming extinct is rather remote. The real issue raised by this question is the assumption that DS-FIO implies a very restrictive, straitjacket organization or method of operation. This need not and probably should not be the case. It is possible to have a variety of staffing and instructional patterns within a single DS-FIO model.

Question: That may be true, but when performance objectives are stressed isn't there a tendency to measure product rather than process? With the knowledge explosion, just how important is information?

Answer: The second question was answered by one of the greatest of modern philosophers, the late Alfred North Whitehead, when he wrote forty-odd years ago, "A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth." Hence, the aim of education must be, "the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge." Modern educators are beginning to accept Whitehead's thesis that the process of acquiring and using knowledge is more desirable than the knowledge *per se*.

The fallacy in the first question is the assumption that stressing performance objectives will cause an emphasis on product rather than process. Neither DS-FIO nor performance objectives will cause that to happen. It will happen only if the people involved cause it to happen by not taking the time to design a system which will prevent or discourage it.

Question: How can you write specific behavioral or performance objectives for creativity, critical thinking, problem solving, aesthetic appreciations, community concern, and attitude toward one's fellow man?

Answer: The clue to the answer may be found in the terms *behavioral* or *performance*. What appears to be needed is to have the framers of the objectives ask the question, "How does a person who demonstrates this characteristic behave or perform?" This procedure is based on the supposition that a person who has the skill, attitude, or value being considered demonstrates it in an observable fashion. Obviously, it would not be unreasonable to assume that a consensus could be arrived at that a person is creative, a critical thinker, or concerned for his community. If educators can accept this hypothesis, then they should be able to define how and under what conditions a student can demonstrate that he has acquired the trait under consideration.

On the other hand, if this assumption is not acceptable, then educators must ask if they can honestly say that they are teaching students to be creative, critical thinkers, problem solvers, or whatever. The only other alternative which appears to be available to educators is to admit that these things are unteachable and restrict themselves to dispensing knowledge. In the light of Whitehead's statement, the latter alternative could hardly be considered desirable.

Question: If these humane goals are listed but cannot be measured, will they be neglected by teachers whose performance is judged and contracted for by achievements that cannot be measured?

Answer: Humane goals have been neglected for years for precisely this reason. If educators have any commitment to the achievement of humane goals, then they must define the goals, as suggested in the previous answer, and develop appropriate instruments and methods for measuring the achievement of these goals. The state of the art is such that this is possible.

While the technology may be available, a more important problem must be resolved. The problem revolves around the question of whether every student must achieve all the humane goals. Must all students be creative? Must all students be concerned with community affairs, and, if so, to the same degree? Therefore, in addition to defining the desired behaviors and providing the tools for measuring their achievement, levels of achievement must be

specified. If teachers are to be held accountable, they must know what they are being held accountable for.

Question: All that sounds so restrictive. How can DS-FIO prevent Walden Two, 1984, and Brave New Worlds?

Answer: This question reflects a common criticism of anything associated with the systems approach or requiring systematic planning. The claim is made that it is dehumanizing because it systematically attempts to subjugate people and, subsequently, the educational process. This criticism seems to be based on the assumption that our present educational process actually is humanizing. This assumption would be difficult to accept or defend.

The fact often overlooked is that DS-FIO systematically planned is value free. Television, for example, can present brilliant documentaries and drama or brutal violence with equal ease. DS-FIO is equally value free. It can be used to achieve good objectives or bad objectives; to subjugate or free teachers; or humanize or dehumanize the educative process.

If we are truly concerned with humanizing education, we must recognize that the critical factor is man. The educators who plan a DS-FIO model, which includes curricular and instructional reform, will determine the type of education that will be provided for our youth. Obviously, then, the answer to this question is that DS-FIO cannot prevent Walden Two, 1984, or Brave New Worlds, but the people who plan it can.

Question: Why is there such an emphasis on planning for DS-FIO?

Answer: Aside from the reasons given in the previous answers, we can only reaffirm the need for thorough planning which was stressed in Chapter 3. A viable DS-FIO model consists of countless factors and relationships which have the potential to cause failure. Therefore, the only defense available is careful, systematic, and thorough planning.

Question: How can planning, which is emphasized so much in DS-FIO, convert teachers who see education in a broader perspective? Or do we just fire such malcontents?

Answer: This question demonstrates an obvious misunderstanding of the implications of DS-FIO, because teachers who see education in a broad perspective are the easiest to convert. Involving

these teachers in the planning process should ensure that DS-FIO will be considered in its broadest sense. This means that it will be viewed as a method for reforming the curriculum, instructional process, utilization of time and space, and individualization and personalization of the teaching and learning process rather than simply the reorganization of the instructional staff into a hierarchy of responsibility.

Teachers who view education very narrowly will present a greater problem of assimilation into the new organization. Teachers who cannot adjust to the new instructional modes after being involved in planning and in-service education, which should be part of any move to DS-FIO, can be utilized at one of the lower levels of responsibility.

Question: Is it fair to an older teacher to demote him or her, not only in status but also in salary, when he or she no longer qualifies or is not chosen by peers for the leader role?

Answer: No, it is not fair. That is precisely the reason that a "grandfather" clause, which guarantees that no teacher will be demoted or earn less than under the old organization, has been and should continue to be part of any DS-FIO model.

Question: In skimming off the best teachers for leadership roles in which their contact with children would be lessened, wouldn't the influence of these teachers be weakened? Isn't that what happened in the early days of counseling, when teachers with the best rapport with children and other teachers became counselors?

Answer: Yes, that happened in the early days of counseling. The reason it happened was that the counselors were isolated from the teachers and the instructional process. The same could be said for excellent teachers who are "rewarded" by making them principals. Conditions such as these became part of the impetus for the development of DS-FIO.

Education is one, if not the only, profession which promotes its outstanding members to positions which take them away from the clients they are supposed to serve. DS-FIO attempts to prevent this by promoting deserving teachers to positions of greater responsibility while they remain part of the instructional staff. Every teacher, regardless of his or her position in the hierarchy, retains instructional responsibilities. Teachers holding top positions are normally expected to devote 20 to 40 percent of their time to instruc-

tion. The remainder of their time is devoted to coordinating the efforts of other teachers, in-service education, curriculum development, and other activities which contribute to the improvement of the educational opportunities provided for the students. Therefore, it cannot be said that what happened to guidance counselors will also happen to teachers in DS-FIO.

Question: Differentiated staffing and team teaching seem to be used synonymously. Are you sure that team teaching is better for children, especially in the elementary school, than a single teacher? Danish children have the *same* teacher for the first six years unless the teacher leaves his or her job.

Answer: DS-FIO lends itself particularly well to team teaching, but as the name flexible instructional organization implies, it is possible to have teachers working in a self-contained classroom. Through the use of paraprofessionals and interns, this can be accomplished. Teachers who do not devote all their time to instruction can be released to perform their leadership functions. The teachers assigned solely to instructional responsibilities would have their own classroom, and have assistance available when they are scheduled for planning sessions. It is important for developers to keep in mind that DS-FIO does not prescribe the means to achieving its ends.

To be called DS-FIO, a model should have a hierarchy of responsibility and salary, all members of the instructional staff must retain instructional responsibilities, and the curriculum and instructional system should provide flexibility for students and staff in accomplishing the goals of the school. Beyond these requirements, each school district is free to use its creative talents.

Question: Can academic freedom survive the conformity required for group action? Isn't the conformity that Friedenberg, Goodman, and others deplore in schools likely to be greater under DS-FIO?

Answer: This is a difficult question to answer without a definition of academic freedom. If academic freedom is defined as freedom to determine both ends and means, then DS-FIO would probably abridge academic freedom. But if it is defined as freedom to select the appropriate means to reach agreed-upon ends, then the answer to the question would have to be yes. Academic freedom will not only survive but flourish under DS-FIO.

Excellent examples of this are the second generation models referred to earlier. At Mesa, Arizona, for example, *requests for proposal* (RFP's), which specify the objectives to be achieved, are sent to the schools with requests for "bids." Staff members, as teams or as individuals, submit bids on one or more RFP's. In the RFP, they are free to select any method that they wish to achieve the objectives.

Some educators might argue that this sounds good; but unless the teachers have the freedom to select both ends and means, there is no academic freedom. That may be true, but the question then arises as to how much academic freedom is allowable in a public school? The students being served in public schools are not necessarily there by choice. We have written laws which require attendance. Therefore, the public through the board of education must be provided an opportunity to have some say in what the goals of the school should be. Educators, as public employees, have an obligation to work toward the achievement of these goals. Granted, the professional staff should be involved in the selection of goals; but once the goals have been established, they cannot be ignored. The old saying that "my freedom to throw a punch ends where your nose begins" illustrates this principle.

Question: DS-FIO appears to make many demands on the teacher. Is it reasonable to ask teachers to make drastic changes in their method of operation while the administrators simply continue as they have in the past?

Answer: To the teacher, this may appear to be the case, but in practice it could not be further from the truth. The principal in a DS-FIO organization, for example, is a far cry from the garden-variety principal of the average American school. He may have the title, but he is more a social manager than a petty administrator. The principal is expected to be an educational leader. He may be responsible for coordinating the school schedule, use of facilities, and deployment of resources; but he is also expected to provide input into the areas of group process, learning behavior, and human relations. He must become expert in identifying problems and proposing possible solutions. Above all, he must learn that his power is derived from his performance and ability because, in many cases, the instructional staff is involved in defining the principal's role and responsibilities and in the evaluation of his effectiveness. Other administrators in the school district are similarly affected by the move to DS-FIO.

Question: All this sounds reasonable, but will DS-FIO survive in the real world?

Answer: We have taken the position that DS-FIO is a viable concept in theory and practice. The chances of survival will be minimal *if:*

1. DS-FIO is used as a promotional technique
2. DS-FIO is viewed too narrowly
3. Models are adopted without adaptation
4. Planning is not thorough and systematic
5. Models are inflexible
6. There is wholesale adoption without pilot assessment
7. Implementation preparation is incomplete
8. Opposition from internal and external sources is ignored.

If these pitfalls are avoided, DS-FIO should survive, but whether it survives in its present form is irrelevant. The conditions discussed in Chapter 1 which created the climate and impetus for the development of DS-FIO will grow more pressing. Therefore, DS-FIO as conceptualized today or some variation of it will survive and probably become the standard or norm of the future.

At the 1972 National Convention of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) in Atlantic City, a resolution was passed which states:

> We believe that many innovations in curriculum, school organization, and teacher deployment that promise to better serve children and youth depend on the introduction of differentiated staffing. We therefore urge that AASA members begin working closely with appropriate staff members to implement differentiated staffing.[1]

With the prestige and influence of AASA behind it, DS-FIO will receive serious consideration by school administrators.

As a result of careful study, we would draw the following conclusions:

1. At this point in time, the majority of school districts should not adopt DS-FIO, because it is much more complex than most people realize, and we have not had enough experience with it to recommend it to *all* school districts.

2. The ultimate success of DS-FIO will depend on the people who attempt to implement it. Almost any type of organization is possible if the members of the organization want it to succeed.

[1] Report of the Resolutions Committee of AASA, 1972. p. 27.

3. If the model is planned and implemented properly and time is provided for the staff members to adapt to their new roles and responsibilities, DS-FIO in one form or another will succeed and provide the many benefits claimed for it.

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